LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punishment therefor. 671
The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled 121
with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence
very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of [177]
legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, [797]
chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural 784
consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. 688
There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges 692
and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and 693
his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa 625 622
before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. 695
A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment. 622

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was 681
followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* 697
(beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala,* are translated as "sin," perhaps 673
in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified [682]
murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior [684]
of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite meaning. [565]
It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is [183]
amiss," and also means prostitution. [548]

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him 682
for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant 672
thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether [602]
punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through
the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by an- [578]
other resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which con- [627]
tinued until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a [622]
commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a [565]
commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceedingly 682
common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered 687
by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others. A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BART. G. C. B.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c. &c.

THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT

OF THE

NATIVES OF THE TONGA ISLANDS,

IN WHICH IT IS ATTEMPTED PARTICULARLY TO SET FORTH

THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, RELIGION,

AND LANGUAGE,

FROM THE ORAL DESCRIPTIONS OF AN ENGLISHMAN

LONG RESIDENT THERE,

IS MOST WILLINGLY INSCRIBED

AS A SMALL, YET APPROPRIATE TRIBUTE

OF RESPECT,

BY

HIS VERY OBEDIENT AND

DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN MARTIN.

[p. v]
[p. vi is blank]

000 these enlightened days, at least a laudable
undertaking; but to bestow much time
and pains upon an investigation of the
principles of a barbarous language, like
the one in question, will, no doubt, in the
eyes of many persons, appear more curious
than useful; and how far such a view
of the subject may be correct, every reader
will judge for himself; to me it appears
almost as great a deficiency in the history
of a nation to overlook the structure of its
language, as to neglect any portion of its
122 moral or political character. In taking,
114 for example, the Tonga people, Mr. Mariner
121 could only arrive at a thorough knowledge
of their religious, political, and moral
character, and the spirit of their religious
and political sentiments, through the medium
of their language, for all accounts
that had been given of them were little
better than bare descriptions of outside
appearances, every thing else, for want of
this same medium, being founded in mere
conjecture: so it is easy for a traveller to
give an accurate description of the outside
of a building, to which he has no admit-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tance, and make some rude guess as to its 122
interior form; but the object of the pre- 114
sent work is chiefly to describe the inside 121
of this structure, that the reader may see the form, dimensions, ornaments, and general merit of its various passages and apartments, to which the Tonga language is in this instance the master-key, and is here offered to all whom accident or design may lead to the same spot, that they may make the same researches in much less time, and with much less hazard and difficulty, than it originally cost the first investigator: and it certainly must be considered some proof of the uprightness of Mr. Mariner's intentions, and of his consciousness of the accuracy of his details, that he readily consents to put into the hands of others the easiest method in his power of satisfying themselves of the truth of what is told them.

There are other points of view, in which, 121
I think, the importance of this subject may be seen: a knowledge of the language helps to throw a considerable light in the path of those who choose to investi-

121 gate the origin of the people, or how far they may be related to other nations of the same immense ocean. In regard to the philologist, it will help his inquiries into the theory of human language generally; and in respect of the metaphysician, he will not be displeased if we offer to his notice the structure of a language which has advanced in its progress up to the present time, among a people who have no conception of any method of noting down their ideas, and yet pride themselves upon the uniform accuracy with which they speak and pronounce their language. There is, moreover, another class of readers, who will by no means regret that this subject has been thus far investigated; I mean those who take a laudable pleasure in looking forward to the civilization and religious instruction of savage nations, to effect which in the most rational manner is certainly to speak to them in their own language*;—and to

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[797] * The king and several other chiefs at the Tonga islands appeared quite surprised when Mr. Mariner informed them

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

construct a dictionary and grammar of it, 121 and teach them to read it, is to do more for them than themselves could effect in many centuries. Lastly, I must beg leave to observe that it is not every European, whom accident or design may station in those islands for a few years, that can learn their language with accuracy; for the idiom is so different from our civilized and more artificial forms of speech, that it must be chiefly young persons, with minds very susceptible of the impressions of spoken language, and of the gestures accompanying it, that can readily accomplish this object without the assistance of an interpreter:—and as Mr. Mariner had acquired this under circumstances peculiarly favourable, it appeared to me paramount to a duty to use those means that lay in my power to prevent all that he had learnt in this respect from sinking for ever into oblivion.

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that the object of the missionaries had been to instruct them in the religion of the white people: they had thought that the latter came to live among them merely from choice, as liking the climate better than their own. [121] [197]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Place Names

By Edward Winslow Gifford

INTRODUCTION

One avenue of approach to the problem of the origin and migrations 121
of the Polynesians lies in a careful study and comparison of place names
from various parts of Polynesia. With large series of names from the
several groups of Polynesia it will be possible to put the comparison on a
firm statistical basis. Moreover, if it were found that Tonga had eighty
per cent of her place names in common with Samoa and forty per cent in
common with New Zealand, the closer connection with Samoa would be
self evident. With large series of place names in hand it will become
possible therefore to work out the ethnogeographic interrelations of each
Polynesian group with all other Polynesian groups. It is hardly necessary
to point out the value of these data in defining the movements of the
Polynesian peoples. Until the expeditions of the Bishop Museum in the
Pacific have been completed it is premature to attempt a comparison on a
statistical basis as suggested above. Consequently, the present paper presents 128
the Tongan data without attempting a detailed comparison with
other groups of Polynesia. Tongan intrarelations alone are studied. Four
thousand seven hundred and seventy-six place names, utilized for more
than eight thousand two hundred locations, are presented. These have
been studied as to geographic distribution and frequency of occurrence in
different parts of the Tongon archipelago. One aim of this study is to 121
determine if possible the direction of movement within the archipelago—
that it, whether from north to south or from south to north.

Several thousand place names were obtained from the records in the 127
Tongan Lands Office, which were courteously put at my disposal by the
Honorable William Tungi, Minister for Lands. Mr. A. B. Wallace,
Minister for Works, gave me access to the maps showing the location of
hereditary lands in the Kingdom. The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott sent
me in 1922 a list of names from the island of Niuafoou, which corroborated
the Niuafoou list I made in Nukualofa (the capital of Tonga) and furnished
forty new names.

For the translation of place names I am indebted to several residents 114
of Tonga; namely, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mr. August
Hettig, Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, and Mr.
William Tungi. The translations have been studied by the author with 127
the aid of two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language, one compiled

convenience in attending frequent church services, and the copra trade are 361
probably the chief factors responsible for the growth of the villages and 178
for the degeneration of agriculture. Today the Tongan resides in a village 241
from which he makes the necessary excursions to his farm. Anciently he resided
on the farm (*api*) and there were no villages. Needless to say, the
extent of cultivated land is much diminished.

Too much faith should not be placed in the meanings of place names 103
listed. The average Tongan appears to give no more thought to the meaning
of his place names than we do. If asked what a name means, it is 128
an even chance he will not know. The meanings of almost all place names [127]
in this paper were worked out by Tongan scholars, European and native.
These meanings have all been studied by the author and modified where
it seemed necessary. Nevertheless, some meanings are undoubtedly forced,
and, what is more, it sometimes happens that a name is open to more than
one interpretation.

Even with these short-comings in mind it is apparent that the meanings 103
of names fall roughly into two great classes, descriptive and commemorative.
The former refer to some feature of the locality, the latter to some
event, usually trivial enough. There are also names of foreign places.
Undoubtedly when comparison with other regions is made these will
increase many fold. Apparently some names express in sarcasm or 423
irony the injured feelings of the tenant of the tract, for it must be remembered [103]
that land is not owned by the rank and file of the population.
It is leased from the government and from the nobility, there being in all
some thirty such landlords. The rentals paid today in coin replace the
ancient tribute of produce paid to the lords of the land.

The name of the landlord has been recorded for every tract; the [128]
absence of a personal name signifies that the government is the landlord.

So far as Tonga alone is concerned, the names of the landlords appear 174
of slight significance in solving the problem of Tongan origins. Here and 103
there a place name appears definitely associated with a landlord, as the
place name Haatalafale with the landlord Tui Pelehake. I believe, how- 121
ever, that the recording of the landlord names will prove exceedingly
valuable when comparisons are made with other parts of Oceania.

In the gazetteer the several occurrences of a single name are listed 128
from the Tongatabu group in the south to Niuafoou in the north. Roughly
the order of listing the occurrences on several islands in a group, or near
several villages on an island, is from south to north and from west to east.
The reason for selecting the southern or Tongatabu group as the starting
point is the fact that it seems always to have been the political and
cultural center of the Tongan kingdom. The names of the five groups of 104

TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 171 121 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough approximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic Mythology."[3]

127 128 171 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wherever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Polynesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian, ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubtedly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 128 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indicate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

773 538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky, and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

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[3] Dixon, Roland B., The mythology of all races: Oceanic, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tales and Poems of Tonga

By E. E. V. Collocott

PREFACE

The aim of this book is to allow the Tongan to interpret himself through 121
the mouths of his story-tellers and bards. The references given by Gifford
(22)[1] will guide the curious to other publications wherein further composi- 113
tions and traditions may be found. Most of the known myths and traditions 114
of legendary and historically great personages already have been published.
This collection consists largely of more homely pieces. 121

A well-known ethnologist, who has done notable work in widely sep-
arated Polynesian islands once remarked that, although it might seem to lay 000
him open to the suspicion of being somewhat lacking in scientific interest,
yet his great concern was not for the past but for the future of these
peoples. My own labors have been in missionary and educational under- [114]
takings, which aim at shaping the present so as to secure a happy and worthy
future. Missionary, educational, and governmental work must be guided
by sympathetic understanding of the people among whom it is undertaken.
It is hoped that this collection will add something to the intimacy of self- 121
revelation of a Polynesian people, and that there may be some gleanings for
the ethnologist. If I can do anything to quicken intelligent sympathy of
white people for the brown races of the Pacific, and to stimulate the con-
fidence that these peoples are possessed of intellectual and moral qualities
that demand respect, and will enable them to make their fit contribution to
the progress of the world, I shall have been well rewarded.

The Tongans, alone of Pacific peoples, have maintained an independent 642
native kingship under British protection and with white assistance. It were 177
to be wished that such a system of government were more widely employed
in the dealings of great nations with their more backward neighbors, who,
indeed, have much to teach as well as to learn from the citizens of more
powerful states. In Tonga there has been a very happy adaptation of
native custom to the demands of modern constitutional rule, and to the
conditions of modern commerce. There is a happy, virile people, healthily [181]
proud of nationhood, and kindly disposed towards the foreigner who has not
cast down the native chiefs from their ancient rank.

Besides publications to which acknowledgments appear throughout the 114
work, I should mention my use of the dictionaries of Baker (2), Mission-

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography, page 168. The superior figures refer to notes pages 129-167.

[p. 3]

538 Kava parties were sometimes entertained by rival poets. Such com-
[276] petition evidently reached a high degree of development. It is said that
[594] competitions in reciting (*po-sipi*), night of reciting, were stopped by the
[656] Government in these latter days because of the feeling engendered. Sometimes poets recited prepared compositions, but at other times they improvised. The chief Tukuaho, a distinguished patron of the arts who died in the
538 latter part of the nineteenth century, is reported to have organized a contest
175 in poetry between a man from Vavau, a man from Nomuka, a man named Siliva, and a woman from Hihifo. Each recited what had been prepared, and then went on to improvise. The bards of Nomuka and Vavau came to a stop without finishing properly; Siliva and the woman both finished well, but Siliva was adjudged to have finished best and to have won.

538 A poet may recite (*laulau*) his own, or another's compositions or teach them to bands of singers or dancers. Skilful bards were valued companions of chiefs. Poets and storytellers sometimes spent the night with chiefs, to amuse them should they be wakeful. A composition to amuse a chief at night was called *tatoka* (literally, sleeping with). The "Weather coast of Selenga" (p. 106) is so called.

[121] The poems here presented have not been specially selected. They are probably representative, certainly when taken with those published by Gifford (21, 22). The prominence of the natural beauties of their homeland among the subjects chosen by the bards has been noted by other writers, and is at once apparent. Much of the poetry is topical. Mariner says, (28, vol. 2, p. 217) "One of these songs describes the principal events during Captain Cook's visit . . . . Another describes the visit of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux. Another the revolution of Tonga, and the famous battle that was there fought." So today notable events are chronicled by the bards. Gifford (23) mentions a poem in his possession describing the entrance of German war-vessels into Vavau Harbor at the time of the ratification of the treaty between Germany and Tonga. Songs composed to accompany dances on any important occasion contain numerous references to events and persons connected with the celebrations. During a visit to Niua Toputapu at a time when vigorous and successful measures were being taken to cope with the great enemy of the coconut, the rhinoceros beetle, which had lately made its way into that island, I found two songs in vogue describing the efforts made to deal with the pest, and celebrating the care and vigilance of the gentleman in charge, Mr. Michael Miller, Miki Mila in the poems. The hunting for beetles, grubs, and larvae, and the boiling of the grubs and larvae in a kerosene tin (*kapa kalasini*) syllables which, however prosaic their meaning, are not to be despised for their rhythm,
[124] were all celebrated by the muse. A member of the party with which I visited the island was a very high chief, who stayed in the house next to

133 valed by considerable stretches of water. These groups, from north to south, are Vavau, Haapai, and Tongatabu. Of the three, Tongatabu has the largest land unit in an island which lends its name to the entire group. This island was, culturally and politically, the center of Tongan life.

121 Archaeological investigation, extended to cover as much of each of the
172 three geographical divisions of the Tongan archipelago as available time and
184 the distribution of favorable sites warranted, failed to discover any important
128 differences between the archaic remains found in different islands. This
cultural uniformity renders it desirable to treat the whole of Tonga as a unit in the present report, rather than to give separate archaeological surveys of any sort of geographic subdivisions.

144 The inhabitants of Tonga are, predominantly, full-blooded Polynesians.
161 Probably never much exceeding twenty-five thousand in number, the Tongans have approximately that population today.

128 An apology is perhaps due for presenting my subject in a form which requires the reader to peruse the entire detailed outlay of evidence in order to obtain a gist of the pertinent facts and the related conclusions. It seems to me that most of the detail is essential to a general understanding of involved problems, and that conclusions, even general remarks, are devoid of meaning when separated from the detail of listed phenomena. I have, therefore, included all the involved data in the running discussion, in order to give the specifically interested student an intelligent, unabridged representation of the field.

172 On first consideration, the archaeological outlook in Tonga is not promis-
114 ing. The student finds here a mottled field, poor in stratified deposits
attributable to human sources, but rich in artificial monuments of earth and
114 stone. The greater part of these have not been carefully examined by pre-
ceding investigators. Such as have been found mentioned in published
accounts have generally been treated as of unknown or doubtful origin.
173 Local mythology has taken full advantage of these wonders and has accounted
for their presence in many fanciful ways. There is, however, a much more
plausible group of traditions, practically free from dependence upon super-
human agencies, accounting for these structures in a not illogical manner.
173 These traditions, surprisingly consistent in their wide repetition and flatly
114 historical in style, have too frequently been overlooked altogether or pur-
posely disregarded by investigators.

EXCAVATIONS

LOCATIONS

172 114 [769] [121] Available sites for archaeological excavations in Tonga are of two kinds, old burial places and kitchen middens. The burial places, though plentiful enough, are so definitely remembered in the folk history of the people that, to their minds, excavation would be no less objectionable than the desecration of a modern cemetery. The kitchen middens are so few in number and represent such small accumulations of debris, both in area and in thickness, that only the determination to leave no possible source of information untouched made their investigation desirable. In the end, the discovery of pottery alone justified the amount of time and energy expended.

Exceptional conditions permitted the opening of five old burial places. One *faitoka* on the island of Motutapu and two langis on the island of Tongatabu were deliberately opened. One unknown *faitoka* was entered in excavating what was reported to be an old god-house *paepae,* on the island of Pangaimotu. The fifth burial place was accidentally uncovered in excavating a kitchen midden at Nukualofa.

The kitchen middens excavated are: 1 at Nukualofa; 1 on the island of Pangaimotu; 2 in caves on the island of Eua; 1 in the town of Mua; 1 on the island of Motutapu. All of these are in the Tongatabu group; no kitchen middens of any description rewarded the search in the Haapai and Vavau groups. The results of excavations are included in the following brief descriptions. [128]

PANGAIMOTU SITES

KITCHEN MIDDENS

133 311 The island of Pangaimotu, situated about 2¼ miles northeast of Nukualofa, has an area of less than one square mile and a maximum elevation of about 15 feet. Although uninhabited, the island supports several very productive yam and fruit gardens, cared for and harvested in season by inhabitants from the main island.

133 On the southwest coast of the island, the sea has encroached upon the land to produce a perpendicular, earthen bank above the beach line, 2 to 6 feet in height and several hundred feet in length. Inland from this exposure, the land surface dips downward, indicating that the sea has cut in to the very center of the original embankment. The foundation of the mound seems to have been a sand dune. The upper strata, to a varying depth, are composed largely of ash, charcoal, marine shells, and burnt coral rock. Near 172

the southeastern extremity of the mound, the strata visible above the sand 172
beach, 1 to 4 feet thick, consist largely of kitchen midden refuse. An excava- 172
tion 10 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 4.2 feet deep, was made at what promised 121
to be the most productive part of this section of the bank. The trench extended 0.9 foot below the upper beach line and 0.7 foot below the present beach surface.

The deposit was horizontally stratified, cross-bedded, and uniform throughout. In 172
it were embedded several earth ovens, intrusively present, lined with coral rock and averaging not more than 3 feet in diameter or 1 foot in depth. The bottom of the deposit rested rather abruptly on a natural base of clean beach sand. All the material in the mound was examined both in situ and after removal, and was finally screened.

The top of the formation produced (a) modern refuse such as bits of rusty barrel-hoops, bottle glass, fragments of copper sheeting, iron, brass, and copper nails, a detachable pearl-shell button, (b) food refuse including marine shells and bones of small animals and fish, some of them showing artificially cut surfaces, and (c) refuse from the ovens, an appreciable quantity of burnt coral rock. The metal and glass objects were plentifully present down to a depth of 1.7 feet; at greater depth they were markedly rarer and mixed with marine shells showing used edges and points—markers of a more primitive culture. Detached canals from a univalve, called *angòango* (*Pterocera sp?*), with points bearing evidence of use, and pieces of artificially cut shell were present. At a depth of 2.5 feet, more shaped and work-worn shells were encountered and the debris was entirely free from metal, glass, or any other articles indicating European contact. A fragment of a smoothly shaped and polished bone thatching needle was found 3 feet from the surface. Below a depth of 3.3 feet, no artifacts or other articles indicative of human occupation were found. A few marine shells and fish bones were present, and small quantities of charcoal, such as might be included in any beach deposit. Most of the material examined is of very recent deposit. The metal
and glass fragments might well date back to the visits of Cook (1773 and 1777) [439]
(4, vol. 1, p. 263) and Labillardière, who, 20 years later, conducted a trading station on Pangaimotu, exchanging nails, pieces of iron, and glass bottles, as well as more perishable materials, for food supplies. The pearl button, found 1.4 feet below the surface of the mound could be replaced from the stock of mercantile houses in present-day Tonga.

The midden from top to bottom reveals a gradual decrease in European articles and a corresponding increase in native artifacts, or possible artifacts, excepting the bottom strata, where no artifacts were encountered. In view of the facts that the site is in close contact with the center of European influence in Tonga, and that the Tongans have been using European implements for a century, the absence in the lower half of the midden of any trace of European material culture is significant.

It is to be concluded, then, that the upper strata are of undoubtedly recent age, while the lower strata show no evidence of other than a primitive culture. The presence of the fragment of thatching needle indicates that this was a typical Tongan culture. It would appear that in Tonga a very thin deposit of refuse materials may include strata bearing both very recent and prehistoric remains.

BURIAL MOUND

172 About 200 yards north of the kitchen midden, 50 yards from the western
shore of Pangaimotu, an excavation was made in a circular, flat-topped
mound, 50 feet in diameter at the base, 24 feet in diameter at the top, and
[137] 4 feet in height. The mound was covered with brush and a few trees, including a large hala (*fala; Pandanus*), a sago palm (*longolongo*), and a coconut
estimated to be 50 years of age.

172 All the informants consulted previous to excavating agreed that the place
was not a burial mound, but the *paepae* upon which there formerly stood a
173 god-house of the god Tui Haafakafanua. The exact date of the destruction
of this house is not known, but Takai, a Tongan hero-chieftain belonging to the era immediately preceding that of George I Tupou, and who lived for a time on Pangaimotu, is said to have refused to build his house upon this mound because it had been the dwelling place of a god. The house must have disappeared previous to that time, probably early in the nineteenth century.

172 A trench 4 feet in width was cut more than half way through the center
of the mound. From this trench, smaller excavations were made on either
121 side, wherever it seemed advisable. Excavation confirmed the story that the
mound had been used as a dwelling site.

172 A surface layer, averaging nearly 1 foot in thickness, is heavily charged with ash and charcoal. This layer produced two buried earth ovens, a quantity of burnt coral oven-rock, many marine shells, many bones of small vertebrates, and a few artifacts. The ovens measured respectively, 2.1 feet in diameter, 0.9 foot in depth, and 3.3 feet in diameter, 1 foot in depth. The artifacts consist of: (a) three fragments of bone thatching needles; (b) the half of a segment from the center of a left, human femur, split straight and evenly, but without tool marks; (c) two smooth, black, volcanic pebbles, of the type commonly used for decorating grave mounds, found at the very base of the layer of household refuse; (d) two small potsherds. (See p. 115.) This refuse layer also produced some pig bones, not in coordinating relative position, but grouped within a very small area.

Under the surface layer, the mound is composed of light-colored, clean sand, entirely unlike the dark, loamy soil which constitutes the surrounding surface and the
172 foundation upon which the mound rests. Buried in this sand were found skeletal
material representing 11 individuals; 8 adults in a fairly good state of preservation,
764 and 3 children very poorly preserved (fig. 47, *a*). All the skeletons were disposed
prone on the back with arms and legs extended parallel with the major axis of the body and with no definite orientation. Most of the individual remains had been entered at different times, as in other burial grounds. Two burials were directly above an earlier burial, although not in actual contact and orientated differently. The skeletons were found 1 foot to 3 feet below the surface of the mound; the average depth was 2 feet. In a superposed burial, one adult rested directly upon another, without interval, and both were orientated with heads to the northwest. The top burial was in markedly better condition than the bottom. One of the earth ovens described was situated directly above a burial, its rim top 0.4 foot below the mound surface. The condition of the bones varied greatly. Many were fairly well preserved while others were in an advanced state of decomposition. The bones of the children, as might be expected,

172 121 Two vertical pits were sunk in the floor of the cave to depths of 3.1 feet and 3.2 feet, respectively. Bedrock was encountered. The first shaft was 3 feet by 3.5 feet square, the second was 2.2 feet wide and 8 feet long. Both excavations may be described as a unit.

172 A hard surface layer, about 0.7 foot thick, is very rich in carbonaceous materials. Below this is a loosely packed mass of earth, 2 to 2.2 feet thick, very rich in whitish ash and burnt coral oven-rock. It rests upon a thin layer of yellowish gravel, which in turn, rests upon bedrock. The entire formation is horizontally stratified. The top layer contained many carbonized shells of the *tuitui* nut, a few bones of fish and of small land vertebrates, and a few scraps of iron of undoubted recent source. The thick under-layer produced, besides quantities of oven-stones, many marine shells and a few bones of fish and of small land vertebrates. A small potsherd was found 2 feet below the surface, near the bottom of the deposit. No other artifacts were found.

As for Cave 1, the data for Cave 2 are meager, but tend to establish a line between the period of intensive pottery use and the period of contact with European culture.

MOTUTAPU SITES

Burial Places

133 166 The low island of Motutapu, about 2 miles north of the eastern end of Tongatabu, is about one-half mile in length, and one-quarter mile in width. The present native inhabitants are not descendants of the former Motutapu people and, therefore, know nothing of the traditional history or mythology of the place.

172 Near the center of the island, close to the southeast shore, was found a circular, flat-topped earthen mound 55 feet in diameter at the base, 43 feet in diameter across the flat top, and 3.5 feet high, giving the sides a slope of about 30° (fig. 47, *b*). The surface of the mound appeared to be a mixture of sand and dark, loamy soil. Around the margin of the flat top, forming an outlining circle, is a series of flat, coralline slabs, irregularly spaced, roughly dressed, each planted in a vertical position. Some of these stones stand only a few inches above the ground. They average 0.5 foot in thickness and a little more than 1 foot in length. The largest is 1.9 feet in height, 2 feet in length, and 0.6 foot in thickness. 172 764 Excavation started at the central top of the mound soon discovered the upper edges of what proved to be a stone burial enclosure (fig. 47, *c*).

The burial place consisted of a dozen rectangular, coral slabs set up vertically on edge to form a six-sided, somewhat coffin-shaped compartment. The two parallel ends of this compartment are, respectively, 5 feet and 4.5 feet in length and are placed 8 feet apart. The sides form a slight outward angle in connecting the two ends. Ends and sides are 0.5 to 0.6 foot thick. The horizontal plane defined by the tops of these

> stones is 0.9 foot below the surface of the mound and the lower edges of the stones 172 extends 0.3 foot into the indigenous soil. The stones were carefully dressed, showing 764 straight, fairly smooth surfaces and well defined edges. They were invariably placed with the major axis vertical, and fitted together so tightly, edge to edge, as to exclude all interval. The corners were lapped evenly, with no apparent regard as to which stone was outside in the lapping. The largest stone is 3.1 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 0.6 foot thick. The average size of the stones is not much less.
>
> The area inside the vault, if this floorless, lidless, solidly filled structure may be so designated, was found to contain fine, clean, light-colored sand to a depth of 3.7 feet, where it encounters the natural soil upon which the mound rests. The remains of three adult burials were found in this sand: one 1.1 feet below the mound surface; another beside the first at a depth of 1.4 feet; and the third immediately below the second at a depth of 2 feet. The skeletal material was in such an advanced state of decomposition that no additional data were obtainable. No artifacts were found. The stained spots in the sand surrounding the bones, characteristic of the burial site examined on Pangaimotu (p. 106), were not observed here.

The type of burial found at Motutapu is not known elsewhere in Tonga. The stones suggest the stone vault ordinarily present in chiefly burial places, but the detail of the structure is entirely different. It might be assumed [171] that the structure represents an early stage in the development of the vault, but the occurrence of stone vaults elsewhere in Oceania suggests caution in formulating theories of local development. The structure might just as well be a retrogressive type of vault as a precursory type. The coffin-shape of the enclosure might even be due to European influence. This is improbable, however, as there is no record of the burial of any historic chieftain on Motutapu, and no such pains would have been taken in preparing the grave of one of less than chiefly rank. A local development of the stone vault idea might explain the unique features of this burial site.

The condition of the bones suggest long burial, but the influence of the 172 stone enclosure upon the state of preservation is uncertain. Water, seeping into the loose sand after heavy rains, could escape but slowly through the joints of the close-fitting stones and the packed natural surface below. The bones would be, therefore, more or less water-soaked during the rainy season of each year. This would tend to accelerate the rapidity of their decomposition.

All that can be said, therefore, is that this is a unique type of stone-walled burial place, probably preceding the innovation of European culture. [764]

KITCHEN MIDDEN

About 100 yards northeast of the burial place on Motutapu Island is a sand dune with its flattened top noticeably rich in charcoal and ash materials. A vertical pit 5 feet square was sunk into this deposit near its center. [121]

> The first foot of material removed consisted of characteristic kitchen refuse, containing much light-colored ash, charcoal, burnt coral oven-rock, and not a few bones of

172 fish and small land vertebrates. The top 0.5 foot produced many scraps of rusty iron and several pieces of green bottle glass. One small potsherd was found 0.4 foot below the surface (p. 115). The remaining 0.5 foot contained no evidence of European culture. It produced three small potsherds. Below this was encountered a layer of clean beach sand 0.3 foot in thickness, entirely free from evidence of human occupation. This sand deposit rested upon another stratum of kitchen refuse, 0.4 foot in thickness, which besides the usual assortment of shells and bones, produced one potsherd; below this was the dark colored sandy loam characteristic of the surrounding land surface. This was traced to rock bottom without discovering any further kitchen midden material.

Pottery was present in all strata containing kitchen refuse. The small size of the excavation, and the small quantity of material obtained will not allow a consideration of quantity relative to depth. The abrupt disappearance of modern materials below the first 0.5 foot indicates a formation preceding European contact. No culture break was apparent between the two sand-intervaled refuse deposits.

TONGATABU SITES

Kitchen Middens

Tongatabu, the largest island in the Tongan archipelago and the center of both prehistoric and historic population, furnished the largest and most productive kitchen middens, as was to be expected. Three kitchen middens and two burial places were excavated here.

1. On the road connecting Nukualofa and Pea, horizontal strata of charcoal and ash are exposed in a quarry.

The face of this cut is, in places, 8 feet in height, 6 feet of earth resting upon 2 feet of bedrock. The top 2 feet of the earthern exposure proved to be part of an artificial bank erected a few years ago by European road builders. The true surface of the kitchen deposit, therefore, is 2 feet below the actual surface. The line of demarkation between these two formations was readily apparent.

[121] Two excavations were made at favorable spots in this kitchen midden: one 3 feet wide and 6 feet long; the other 3 feet wide and 4 feet long. Both pits were carried to rock bottom. From the true surface down, four distinct strata were encountered. Stratum I, 2.1 feet thick, is made up of characteristic kitchen refuse, rich in charcoal, light-colored ash and burnt oven-rock; Stratum II consists of a bed of yellowish clay, 1.2 feet thick; Stratum III, 0.6 foot thick, is like Stratum I; Stratum IV, resting directly on bedrock, is like Stratum II. Stratum II alone was productive of culture data of any special interest. Thirty-seven potsherds, distributed evenly from top to bottom of the formation, were found there.

The interesting fact regarding the products of these excavations is the presence of a kitchen deposit stratum, devoid of pottery, lying below and clearly separate from the pottery bearing stratum. This would seem to indicate a culture period preceding the use, or common use, of pottery. The fact seems more suggestive when an additional fact is taken into consideration, that there was not a section of the surface deposit 3 inches thick that did not contain pottery, whereas the lower deposit was 7 inches thick. [128] However, the excavations were altogether too small in size to warrant the

drawing of too hard and fast conclusions from their products. A single 72
heavy rainstorm might result in the deposit of clay, such as Stratum II, [128]
so the occurrence of this stratum as an interval formation between Stratum I and Stratum III does not necessarily denote an important time interval. The absence of any indication of European contact at this site is noteworthy.

2. On the property leased by the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, in Nukualofa, on the Nukualofa-Pea road.

This site is a broad, low mound nowhere more than 4 feet high and has large, irregular lateral dimensions. Pieces of pottery seen protruding from the vertical roadside exposure of the mound led to investigation. Near the highest point of elevation, [21]
about 20 feet south of the front veranda of the mission, a pit 5 feet square was sunk to a depth of 2.8 feet, penetrating 0.5 foot into the indigenous soil below the base of the kitchen deposit.

The surface, to a depth of 0.6 foot, was found to be composed of an unstratified mixture of ashy, carbonaceous soil, fine light-colored sand and coral gravel. In this surface material were found: many marine shells; a few bones of fish and small land vertebrates; a few scattered and badly broken fragments of human bones; a small quantity of burnt coral oven-rock; a few volcanic oven-stones; and 286 small potsherds. Some of the potsherds were actually lying on the surface, but the number of pieces gradually increased with depth.

The remaining 1.7 feet of the kitchen refuse deposit is composed of soil which was absolutely free from the light-colored sand found above it, and very rich in light gray ash with some pockets of charcoal included. Moreover, this material is horizontally stratified. Traces of burnt coral oven-rock and a considerable number of volcanic oven-stones were present. No human skeletal material was found. Marine shells were plentiful, and some bones of fish and small land vertebrates. In all, this undisturbed formation produced 1,192 small potsherds, most of them from near the center of the deposit. In the top 0.4 foot were found 321 and in the bottom 0.7 foot only 151. A piece of artificially shaped shell and a similarly treated piece of volcanic stone were found 0.4 foot and 0.3 foot above the bottom of the deposit, respectively. In addition [21]
to the pottery found in the excavation, a hasty examination of the road-cut exposure produced 30 more potsherds. These were found evenly distributed throughout the entire length of the cut, and on both sides of the road.

At this site 1508 pieces of pottery were found, 1478 in an excavation 5 feet square and 2.3 feet deep, excluding the bottom 0.5 foot of clay. That would make an average of more than 26 to 1 cubic foot of soil examined. Near the center of the deposit, the average increases to about 50 to 1 cubic foot. As indicated by the gleanings from the exposure bordering the road, it is highly probable that this heavy deposit of pottery is more or less continuous throughout the mound. If this quantity of pottery means anything, it points towards a very common use of pottery during the time when the deposit was in course of formation. A salient feature is the entire absence of any indication of contact with European culture.

But the relatively close contact of these potsherds should not be over emphasized. Very little burnt, coral oven-stone, characteristic of all other Tongan kitchen middens examined, were found in this deposit but many

172 [354] volcanic oven-stones are present. A volcanic stone will serve in an oven for an indefinite period of time. It therefore marks a deposit where the accumulation of materials may have been slow. It logically follows that the close intervals between the many pieces of pottery is due to a very gradual deposit of the material which contained them. The very fragmentary condition of the pottery, and the large number of these pieces that would be required to reconstruct one pot, must also be taken into consideration. It might be argued that a very few pots could have supplied all the material taken from the excavation. Such a contention, however, entirely disregards the stratification data, and is completely controverted by the variety of rim shapes which the specimens show (fig. 49).

The increased quantity of pottery near the center of the deposit would seem to reflect the time of maximum population of the site, although it might be interpreted to indicate the time of maximum use of pottery, regardless of population.

The head of the Seventh Day Adventists Mission was certain that the surface of this mound has been plowed frequently within the last generation. This accounts for the lack of stratification in the top 0.7 foot of the deposit, and renders the mixed occurence there of pottery, ash, clean sand, marine shells, and human bones void of importance. There is doubt as to whether any potsherds rightfully belong on the surface. 172 764 The skeletal material certainly represents shallow burials, or surface burials covered with transported sand. Surface burials seem likely, unless the mound was a great deal higher at one time than it is now. Whatever the mode of burial, the association of the skeletal material with pottery does not establish any cultural relationship.

According to Tui Vakano, the human bones mark the remains of burials made at this site after the first battle between George I of Tonga and the rebels of Pea, probably disposing of the dead from the loyal army. The burials were therefore historic in period.

172 121 3. On the shore of the lagoon immediately northwest of Johanson's store at Mua. It was particularly desirable to find some deposit of human refuse worthy of excavation at Mua, the ancient residence of the old dynasty of Tongan kings, as this was the center of native culture for many generations preceding European discovery of the archipelago. The deposit found, although not a highly promising one, is rich in ash and charcoal, and horizontally stratified.

172 [121] The site of the kitchen midden is a low, vertical exposure. In excavating, a strip was removed lengthwise with the embankment, 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. Only the top 0.7 foot produced kitchen refuse materials, including 12 small potsherds. The remainder of the exposed column of earth consisted of soil which was representative of adjoining natural formations and which rested upon characteristic,

clean beach sand. The only interesting material found at this site was pottery (p.). 172
There is no evidence of European contact.

BURIAL PLACES

1. At langi Tamatou (p. 55), a fortunate and unexpected opportunity 172
affording itself, it was decided to excavate this structure, hoping thereby
to determine the nature of the stone vault, to obtain specimens of primitive 121
artifacts, to acquire data on burial methods, and to substantiate or confound
the truth of the tradition that a wooden image constituted the only burial
therein.

The opportunity for investigation was limited in scope of time to a 172
single day. Consequently, the maximum available force of men, under the 114
direct orders of a high Tongan chieftain, was set to work. The consent
of these men to participate in such labor was only obtained through chiefly [122]
command.

In an endeavor to locate a vault, or burial deposit, holes 4 to 5 feet deep were 172
sunk at intervals of 6 feet into the top of the mound. A large pocket of fine, light-
colored sand, such as invariably surrounds native burials, was encountered near the 121
center of the examined area. This pocket was extensively and carefully excavated
but produced nothing. Further excavation produced equally negative results.

It is remarkable that such an extensive and well built stone structure, designed to 172
be used as a king's cemetery, should lack a stone vault. According to tradition, all
such structures are so equipped, and many of them are known to contain vaults. It is 764
equally certain that Tamatou has no vault.

This tomb belongs to the small series of stone tombs preceding the great stone langis which occur so numerously in ancient Lapaha (p. 96). There is reason to believe that it is among the first stone langis to be built in Tonga and the absence of a vault tends to question the ancient existence
of stone vaults in Tonga. Investigation on a scale and of a nature that [128]
present native standards will not tolerate would be required to furnish
an intelligent answer to this question.

My stubborn presumption in calling this structure a tomb, in spite of 172
the negative evidence, seems justified by the extensive mythological refer- 764
ence to the place. Tradition states that no man was buried there and exca-
vation supported this statement. A failure to locate the wooden doll said 173
to have been buried there was to have been expected. The figure is said
by some to have been made of the soft wood of the fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*),
a material that would disintegrate and be lost in the surrounding soil in a
relatively short length of time.

2. At langi Fololkamanu. 172

There is reason to believe that Fololkamanu is one of the oldest langis in Tonga 764
(p. 69). A daughter of one of the early kings is said to have been buried here.

172 764 [121] In excavating, an initial attempt was made to locate a stone vault. No vault was found. By means of 69 feet of trenching averaging 5.3 feet deep, the central interior of the mound was shown to consist of fine, light-colored sand, including red coral sand of a variety to be found only on certain of the beaches of Vavau. Surrounding this central body of choice sand was an inferior grade of sand, although this too was clean and evidently of artificial placement.

Skeletal material was found in the central body of sand. One skeleton of an adult was found 2 feet below the surface of the mound, situated in a central position (fig. 48). The body had been disposed prone on the back, extended, with the head to the northwest. Immediately over this burial were the scattered and fragmentary remains of another, or other burials. According to all indications, the fragmentary material, which was in a very poor state of preservation, had been removed in excavating for the burial of the individual represented by the intact skeleton. Following this intrusive burial, the scattered bones of the disturbed burial had been indiscriminately thrown back into the burial pit on top of the new interment. No artifacts were found associated with the bones.

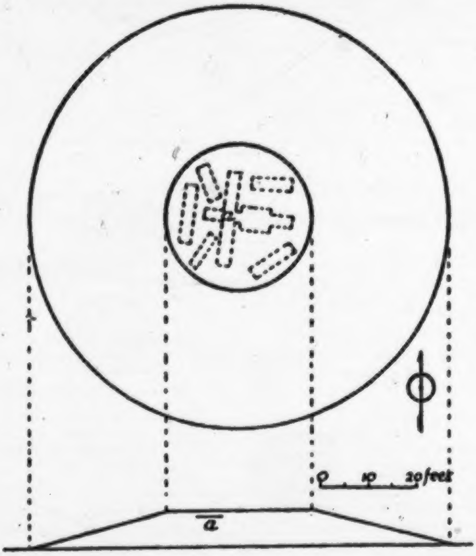

FIGURE 48.—Plan of excavations at langi Folokamanu: *a*, site of burials, dashed lines show position of trenches dug during exploration.

The investigation of Folokamanu tends to support the conclusion that the early tombs in Tonga did not contain vaults; that vaults, whether introduced or of local invention, were included in the langi structure as a [128] relatively late innovation. Such a conclusion is in need of much supporting evidence where it has but a little. My only apology is that other evidence, either positive or negative, is not available.

Tongan pottery seems to resemble that of Fiji in many essential traits, 172
as is to be expected, but to differ somewhat from it in many details. The 323
similarity between the cooking wares is much more pronounced than that 171
between the finer, decorated ware.

Good sources of clay in Tonga were not observed, but there were volcanic 135
as well as coral islands in the group to serve as possible sources, and clay is probably not uncommon. There certainly is no lack of stubborn, sticky mud, as the roads will testify.

CONCLUSION

The culture traits and products disclosed by archaeological investigations 172
in Tonga are representative of the entire group rather than of peculiarly 184
different districts; a single culture was disclosed. Certain rare, unique features may have been either local peculiarities within the culture, isolated innovations resulting from foreign diffusion, or monuments of an intruding culture. Their rare occurrence renders them generally unimportant. A list of these unique features might include the Fijian type of house platform observed on the island of Mango, the square house platform on the island of Utungaki, the stone fortification on the island of Late, the petroglyphs on the islands of Telekivavau and Tonumea, and even the great triiithon on Tongatabu.

On the other hand, the Tongan tendency towards the quick adoption of new ideas, whether of local or foreign conception, a characteristic very apparent in the historic Tongan, could only have resulted in a mottled culture with many peculiar expressions, which might have included any or all such highly individualistic features.

Not only are sub-divisions of negligible importance in this province, but 172
no reasonable indication of a human culture or foreign race of people preceding the culture and race of its historic occupation was encountered. This statement is made with a full realization of the paucity of known data reflecting any great antiquity, but with the feeling that this paucity is principally due to the non-existence of such data.

A great part of the investigation was limited to the Tongatabu group 172
of islands. This was not due to any arbitrary selection on my part, but rather 121
to the illuminating fact that sites apparently worthy of investigation, considering the limited time available for work, are relatively rare elsewhere. This is true of structures of stone and earth, accumulations of kitchen refuse, and all other interesting features, definitely indicating a much more intesively inhabited state in the south of the archipelago than in the north.
Native traditions to the effect that Tongatabu was settled before Haapai 172
and Vavau, and that these groups remained but sparsely settled until com- 173

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans

By E. E. V. Collocott and John Havea
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INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Tonga Islands or Friendly Islands consist mainly of 101
low coral islets, the largest, Tonga or Tongatabu, being about [133]
25 miles long from east to west, and rather less than half that distance in width at its broadest part. The group is divided into three well-defined smaller groups: Tongatabu and Eua with a cluster of surrounding islets to the south, the widely scattered Haapai archipelago in the center and Vavau to the north. Far to the northward of Vavau are the outlying islands of Niua Foou and Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's).

The majority of the islands in the Tongan group are low- 133
lying and level, but notable exceptions occur. The surface of the island of Eua which rises in two great tiers to upwards of 1000 feet is marked by splendid rolling uplands and rugged cliffs. The imposing cone of Kao, the highest mountain in the Tonga Islands with an altitude of more than 3000 feet, and its longer and lower, but still lofty, neighbor, Tofua, form the western sentinels of the Haapai group. Farther north is the cone of Late. Vavau with its surrounding islands is hilly and picturesquely wooded. Niua Foou is also high and volcanic; Niua Tobutabu, and the neighboring peak of Tafahi, are each about 2000 feet high.

This widely scattered group is inhabited by a homogenous 197
people speaking one language. It is asserted that formerly there [101]
were notable peculiarities in the speech of Eua and Niua Foou, and at the present day words not found in the remainder of the group are in use in Niua Foou. These differences, however, are not very considerable.

The suggestion that a collection of popular sayings should 121
be made came first from the late Rev. Dr. George Brown, the

[5] [p, 39]

121 pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known
128 many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the
collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary
of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many
[114] expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to separate into their component words and explain these expressions, but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *g* in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer, and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters
[777] *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The
[212] Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language
to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a
few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by
Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are
sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an
English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the
ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt
to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion,
as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of
[194] sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the
greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

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[113] [1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

METHOD

All measurements were taken in accordance with the regulations of the International Agreement. The technique is described in some detail in my previous paper[3] but for the sake of convenience is here repeated in outline. Each measurement and index is numbered, and in the tables throughout this paper these numbers refer consistently to the same measurements.

ANTHROPOMETRIC CHARACTERS

1. Stature: recorded to the nearest centimeter (shoes removed).
2. Maximum head length: from the glabella to the opisthocranium.
3. Maximum head width.
4. Minimum frontal diameter: transverse.
5. Maximum face width or bizygomatic diameter.
6. Bigonial diameter at the angle of the mandible avoiding as much of the muscles as possible.
7. Anatomical face height; nasion to gnathion.
8. Nose height nasion to subnasale.
9. Nasal width; alare to alare.
10. Physiognomic ear length or height.
11. Physiognomic ear breadth.

INDICES

12. Cephalic or length-breadth index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 3 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 2}$

13. Transverse fronto-parietal index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 4 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 3}$

14. Transverse cephalo-facial index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 5 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 3}$

15. Zygomatico-frontal index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 4 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 5}$
    (Sometimes designated as the jugo-frontal index)

16. Zygomatico-mandibular index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 6 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 5}$
    (Sometimes designated as the jugo-mandibular index)

17. Anatomical facial index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 7 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 5}$

18. Nasal index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 9 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 8}$

19. Physiognomic ear index $= \dfrac{\text{measurement No. } 11 \times 100}{\text{measurement No. } 10}$

The anthropometric data were supplemented by observations on characters not quantitatively measurable. In view of the widespread misconception as to the nature of these characters and their value in somatology, it seems desirable to point out in some detail just what has been attempted in describing characters that do not lend themselves readily to measurement. The fact that anthropologists have carelessly spoken of "types" of hair form, hair color, or eye color has given the erroneous impression—not only to the general reader but to many anthropologists as well—that these types actually exist in nature and that it is possible, for example, to arrange all human eyes in four, five, or six color groups. Although it is universally recognized that all characters that lend themselves to actual measurement show a continuous variation with a tendency for a large percentage of the individuals measured to cluster around a median or mean point, yet it is difficult to dislodge the idea that other characters such as color or form, which cannot be accurately measured with existing apparatus, have a discontinuous distribution. The body height or stature of the Scots, for example, ranges from 158 centimeters to 186 centimeters and averages about 172 centimeters. Very few Scotchmen are as short as 158 centimeters and very few are as tall as 186 centimeters. In progressing from the extremes towards the mean the number of individuals at each step increases. It is apparent to anyone who has endeavored to classify characters which do not lend themselves to measurement that in them he is dealing with exactly the same type of continuous variation. When the metric rod cannot be applied, standards are set up along the range of variation, separated widely enough to permit of distinguishing each from the standard preceding or following it, and an endeavor is made to classify the material on this basis. The attempt to classify all existing forms of hair as straight, low waves, deep waves, curly, frizzly, or woolly, produces results very similar to those which might be expected if the stature of all men were measured with a rod graduated in 10 centimeter intervals from 130 to 190 centimeters. A man's stature would be recorded as 130, 140, 150, 160, 170, 180, or 190 centimeters; yet it is obvious that the stature of many men would actually be 135, 136, or 137 centimeters. The rod is not graduated finely enough to record the true distribution of the measurements. In a sense hair classes may be compared with these 10-centimeter intervals. For example, straight hair might well correspond with the 130-centimeter mark and woolly hair with the 190-centimeter mark or vice versa. But at this point the analogy breaks down. It is not certain that low waves, deep waves, and other hair forms correspond exactly to the 140- and 150-centimeter points. Roughly they probably do. But by far the greatest difference in the two methods and one that should always be kept in mind in the analysis of data is that in the classification of these descriptive or attribute characters, so called, the "metric rod" exists only in the mind of the observer and is by no means a uniform or universal standard. This lack of a fixed standard makes difficult not only the comparison of small differences found by different observers, but also to a lesser extent those found at different times by the same observer. As the standard is purely visual, constructed largely upon the expe-

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[3] Op. cit.

riences of each observer, it necessarily fluctuates constantly, varying with new 121
experiences. 128

Despite the varying standards many of these non-measurable characters have proved to be of such great value in pointing out racial similarities and differences that no general somatological study is justified in omitting them. In pointing out the sources of error in data of this sort it is not my purpose to belittle their value or to imply that the size of the error is uniform for all characters. Although two observers might disagree as to whether a given sample of hair were low-waved, or straight, yet they would be much less likely to disagree as to whether it were straight or deeply waved, and still less likely to disagree as to whether it were straight or curly. The same considerations apply to color.

Recognizing then the fact of the continuous variation in these characters, I 128
have described them as if they were discontinuous. For purposes of this paper hair form is classified as straight, low-waved, deep-waved, curly, frizzly, and woolly, and the color is designated as black, dark brown, reddish-brown, light brown, blond, golden, red, and gray. The amount of beard on the upper cheek, lower cheek, and chin and the amount of body hair on the chest, forearm, and leg was described as none, slight, medium, and heavy. Eye color is classified as black, dark brown, and light brown, blue, gray, blue-brown, and gray-brown. The amount of conjunctival pigment is classified roughly in accordance with the appearance of the scelera—white and clear, muddy, speckled, or mottled. The development or lack of development of the epicanthic (Mongoloid) eye fold is described as absent, slight, medium, or marked. The elevation of the nasal bridge has been estimated in terms of low, medium, or high. The form and direction of the nostrils are roughly classed, according to the direction of the long axis of each nostril, as antero-posterior, oblique, or transverse. (See figs. 1 and 2.) The slope of the forehead is estimated as vertical, moderate slope, or low. The development of the glabella is indicated by the terms smooth, medium, and prominent. The thickness

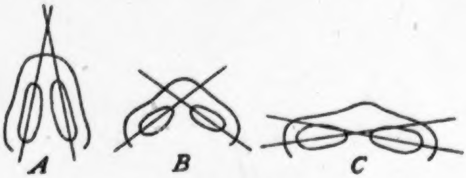

FIGURE 1. Diagram illustrating terminology used to describe the form of the nostrils: *A*, antero-posterior nostrils; *B*, obliquely placed nostrils; *C*, transverse nostrils.

144 theless it seems desirable to repeat the discussion in my paper on Samoan Somatology* and to extend it somewhat.

I have stated my belief that there was little or no reason for assuming the Samoans to be of European or Caucasian origin. From the evidence available I have concluded that the Samoans are of Mongoloid or Yellow-Brown affinities. Scientific opinion has wavered back and forth on the question as to whether there was or was not justification for calling the yellow and the brown elements of this stock separate races. Everyone must admit that there is some justification for so doing. Superficially there are some striking differences in the two stocks. When all the groups composing this stock are considered, anthropologists have found that the two elements have a considerable number of very important characteristics in common. One group may depart radically from the other groups in one or two characters but in all other characters will approach the form prevailing in the majority of the groups. At present the line of cleavage between the yellow and brown elements of this stock seems to be rather well marked. This is probably due not to the fact that such a gap exists but that our data is lacking on many interesting and connecting types. The Chinese, the Japanese, the Koreans, the numerous Siberian peoples, and many other similar Asiatic groups constitute the yellow element of this group. The American Indians, the Malays, the Indonesians and in my opinion the Polynesians constitute the brown element of the Yellow-Brown race. Each one of these groups named represents a departure from the other groups in a greater or less number of important characteristics. Yet analysis reveals a large number of remaining characteristics pointing clearly to its major affinities.

121 144 It is for this reason that I insist that no classification based on hair form, cephalic index, or any one single character should be taken too seriously. It may very well be that the one character which was hit upon as a basis for classification may be the very one in which the group under discussion has become differentiated from its closest relatives. Relationship must be based on a totality of characters—the larger the number of physical characters used in indicating relationships the greater the probability that the relationship indicated is a real one.

144 The evidence for a Caucasian origin of the Samoans and Tongans is decidedly sparse and unconvincing. They do depart somewhat from the bulk of the Yellow-Brown peoples in hair form. Coarse, stiff, or lank black hair occurs only rarely in these two groups. The prevailing form is moderately coarse in texture and either straight or, quite as often, slightly wavy in form. This more than any other one thing is responsible for the theory of a European origin of these peoples. Now while the hair is not so stiff, straight, and coarse as the prevailing form of hair in the Yellow-Brown peoples, neither is it so fine as the

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* Op. cit.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE.

THE whole of what is related in the following pages, the Composer firmly believes to be true. Every circumstance was taken down in short hand, from the mouth of the Author, and afterwards repeatedly revised in concurrence with him. 12

The writer has not to his knowledge exaggerated nor disguised any circumstance, much less mingled with the Narrative any conjectural or fictitious event.*

These communications were not imparted with the design of publication, but the Author consented to their appearing in print, with the hope that his example, while it dishonours himself, might serve to caution and benefit others. [121]

The composer trusts, therefore, that in order to avoid circumlocution, and to render the Narrative more interesting, he may be permitted to use the first person instead of the third. By letting the Author relate his own life, while the writer only arranges his thoughts, and clothes them with language, the varying sentiments, sensations, and motives,

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* When the composer had almost written the Narrative, and not till then, he consulted the Missionary voyage, and he was not a little pleased to find, that it amply attested the principal events related, as having taken place within the period to which that work extends. Since then he has received a farther confirmation of the veracity of the Author, and the accuracy of his statements, from an account which perfectly coincides with the Narrative of the circumstances under which the Author was rescued off the Vavoo Islands, and taken on board the Royal Admiral, from an officer then on board that vessel, who since then has revised the whole work with him.

[p. vii]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

that actuated him in every changing circumstance, and 12
event, will be more exactly delineated.

Having said this of the Author, the composer begs leave 121
to state of himself, that his principal design in this Narrative is, to promote the conversion of the heathen, and to give to missionary labours, the best direction by an impartial and genuine display of their present miserable and degraded state.

Gratitude also compels him to subjoin his public ac- 12
knowledgments, to several friends of distinction in the Senate, and in the Church, for the advice and assistance, by which they have much improved the work, and encouraged the writer, after more than a year's hesitation, to venture to lay it before a candid publick.

A CLERGYMAN
OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

114 dians, and might teach them, in the familiarity of conversation, those blessed truths of the gospel,
121 which I had learned to value. At this time, I heard of the design of sending Missionaries to the Islands of the South Sea. It excited a lively interest in my mind. I felt a desire to go; but not judging myself qualified for the important work of preaching the gospel to the heathen; when I heard that a vessel was to be fitted out for the conveyance of Missionaries, I offerred to assist in it, to forward the work. But the Directors of the London Mission, after examining my religious principles, and and my motives for accompanying the Missionaries, wished me to become one of their number. I consented, and was set apart with the rest, for this important undertaking, in the solemn manner which the public witnessed.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

Here, therefore, I am approaching a period of my life, in which I little regarded the pure heavenly design on which I set out, and disgraced my character as a christian. The remembrance of this has caused me bitter remorse, and often fills me, still, with deep contrition, shame, and self abhorrence. But I trust, by the grace of God, I have now truly repented. I hope in the mercy of God through that gracious Redeemer who "came to seek and save the lost," and "call sinners to repentance." I am cheered by the belief that "he is able to save all that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them;" and I endeavour, by the aids of his blessed Spirit, which, I daily need, and therefore daily implore, to walk again in the paths of righteousness. 175 177

From the period that I returned to live with Mulkaamair; when the ship left the Island, and I bad adieu to my companions, I had little or no connexion with them. The remainder of this Narrative will, therefore, relate principally to myself, and the circumstances in the Island, in which I took a part, until my merciful escape from it. In this, I shall not disguise my conduct, but declare every thing with that scrupulous attention to truth, without exaggeration or palliation, to which I have endeavoured, uniformly, to adhere, in all that I have related. If the circumstances that perverted me from the paths of righteousness and purity, and the 175 177 121

12: Vason N-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 unhappy influence which they had on my mind,
799 should serve as a caution to future missionaries, or
121 deter any from those omissions of duty, and those
indulgences of depraved inclination, which lead to
declension and destruction, the narration of my disgrace will not be useless nor unprofitable.

PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of a two-month visit to Tonga 114 101
during the summer of 1938-39. Some seven weeks of this
time were spent in the village of Pangai, Vava'u. We lived 122
in a Tongan-style house built for us in the middle of the 114
village. One of us could speak Tongan with fair fluency.

We do not claim any measure of completeness for our 121
study. It is quite obvious that in the time at our disposal,
completeness was unattainable. But we do feel that our
observations on various aspects of village culture have as
much objectivity as is usually claimed by students of society.
We also feel that it is worth putting on record something of
the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified
society. Previous description of this society has not always [114]
made it clear whether the reference of social custom or fact
is to the society as a whole or to the life of a chiefly class only.

It should be emphasized further that what we describe 121
refers specifically to the culture of this village as it is 177
believed and lived today. We have not tried to winnow the
chaff of post-European borrowing in order exclusively to
present the wheat of a now far distant aboriginal culture.
This would be difficult to do and hardly worth the trouble
insofar as Mariner and Gifford, separated by more than a
century of time, have already given us studies of this pre-European culture that are models of their kind. With these
or similar studies as a sort of base line, the need today in
Tonga, as indeed in many another Polynesian community,
is for extended analyses of present-day culture in action.
Only by these analyses and the comparisons they make
possible will the student gain insight into many of the
problems of culture-contact and resulting culture-change.
Since we have at this time opportunity for culture-description 121
only, we have left aside for the moment and for the 177
most part any extended study of the process of historical 178
change as it has affected Tongan culture. For the students

121 177 178 of Mariner, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford, and other writers on Tongan ethnology, however, the results of cultural change and cultural stabilization will be implicit in all that is described in these notes.[1]

121 Two further points may be noted here: First, all our descriptions refer directly, unless otherwise mentioned, to the culture of one commoner village, the village of Pangai. How typical this village is of other small villages throughout the Tongan kingdom we have no means of knowing directly, nor of stating with precision. We suspect however, that taken in very general terms, Pangai is fairly typical of other commoner villages where there is no high chief or noble in residence and where there is about the same measure of isolation that characterizes Pangai. More than this it is hard to say without more investigation.

121 177 182 The second point we would stress is this: Despite years of contact with an invading western European culture, village culture has adapted itself with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life. Some are accustomed to think that contact with a white culture always brings decay and disorder to a pre-literate culture. There is ample evidence from other parts of Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from American Indian tribes, that this cultural disintegration often occurs under these conditions. In Tonga, however, it has not occurred: and Tonga is by no means unique in this connection, even in the South Seas.

But why destruction of native culture sometimes occurs and why at other times it is possible for a people concerned to elaborate a new culture that blends old with new in a reasonably harmonious fashion, is a problem that has as yet been only noted, not carefully studied with the closeness
121 that it deserves. In this monograph we have no theories to advance, thinking it better at this moment to describe the present-day stabilization of Pangai village-culture with as

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[[113]] [1] An adequate bibliography of material bearing on Tongan ethnology is given in Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *B. P. Bishop Museum, Bull.* 61, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, 351-353. References to this work throughout this text are given as Gifford, *Tongan Society*.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

121 much fullness as our field notes make possible. Only by empirical field studies will the student be able to gather the data without which hypotheses are mere speculation and speculation itself takes the place of a rigorous scientific thinking.

122 We are indebted to various friends for helping us with our work: to the Prince Consort Tungi for giving us permission to live in a Tongan village and introducing us to government officials in Neiafu; to John Feiloakitau, Police Magistrate in Neiafu, for advice and assistance; to Dr. and Mrs. John Lopdell who took us as strangers into their home in Neiafu and gave us the privilege of their friendship and hospitality; to our friends and informants in Pangai village who welcomed us and helped us and let us
128 live among them. Special thanks are due to Biukala of Pangai for preparing for us the first draft of the two sketch maps of Pangai village and of the island of Pangaimotu. Miss Lovella Proctor prepared these maps for publication; we are grateful to her for this help.

The material embodied in these notes is the result of co-operative work. The monograph was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

262 [226] half of its meals. Women in the other households were apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much time on the reef.

[252] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager [439] is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase [434] the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 178 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 264 121 114 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and organization for production . . . there is first of all an over-valuation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

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[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

262 264 121 114 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 178 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

262 264 121 114 We apparently do not have comparable figures which would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own society during each day. One suspects that were this amount known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

574 527 The various feast-occasions are mentioned throughout this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle, where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

553 604 574 431 [844] [562] mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification [561] because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in [865] the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen 855 months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or 855 861 who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

precise accuracy.[33] What is needed in this connection is the 177
development of some techniques whereby the student of 178
contemporary primitive cultures could express an index of
acculturation that would state concisely and adequately the 177
cultural level of the culture studied. This index would then 178
constitute a simplified way of describing the position of the 121
culture in question on an imaginary line whose polar limits would be aboriginal culture at one end and western European culture at the other end. If it were possible to establish such an index-expression for the various contemporary Polynesian cultures, we would have gone far in our understanding of what is meant by the processes of acculturation and culture change. This index might express theoretically either the number of aboriginal elements surviving in the present-day culture or else the number of new elements transferred from the carriers of the alien culture. This index-expression of the status of contemporary culture together with complete knowledge of the temporal order in which various elements of culture have been transferred from alien to aboriginal culture would then open the way for a more realistic attack upon the dynamics of the processes underlying the diffusion of culture.

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[33] For a brief consideration of the number and kind of cultural [113]
elements borrowed by the Tongans from western European culture, reference may be made to Gifford, E. W., "Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1924, 281-292. This survey of Gifford applies to Tonga as a whole, particularly perhaps to present-day Tongan culture as carried by the Tongans of Nukualofa, the capital. Many of the changes listed by Gifford obviously do not [184]
apply to small commoner-villages, as for instance, use of water-
closets, automobiles, horse and cart, telephones, motion-pictures, type- [365]
writers, addiction to horse-racing and the like. Still other of the changes refer almost exclusively to the life of the chiefly class. References to the functioning of Christianity with its commandments *(tapu)*, the use of writing, and customs relating to tobacco-smoking, and eating, apply with fair accuracy to the culture of Pangai village. When compared with village culture, Gifford's paper has some [184]
theoretical significance, however, in that it describes the results of
culture-contact for the urban Tongan as opposed to the village Tongan. [369]
It thus gives insight into the dynamics of contemporary culture-change among two types of Tongan community. Reference may be made [113]
in this connection to the methodological discussion in Redfield, R., *Tepotzlan, A Mexican Village*, Chicago, 1930, and the orientation to culture-contact among the Hawaiians in Beaglehole, E., *Some Modern Hawaiians*, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull. 19, Honolulu, 1939, 7-11.

At the present stage of technical development in the 177
social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed [121]
about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present
culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such
cultural elements as the following would come within the
scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that
there has been more cultural transference in the field of
material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even
with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be
drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from
the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are 177
cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But 262
compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such
imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day
eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods
for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process 177
of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importa- 252
tion of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than [415]
oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled
food much of the time, using the native oven whenever some-
thing a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique 177
of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, 264
and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is
still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, 177
the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How 178
much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any
simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There 177
is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from 291
European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All 178
the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for 292
most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have
borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a
skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style
of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary
occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of
the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with
a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up
for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost
invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and
shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

of the Tongan class-system how the conversion of influential 177
chiefs to Christianity would result in the conversion by order 178
or imitation of commoner-followers of the chiefs. And as soon as trader followed missionary to show how, by the production of copra, money could be obtained wherewith to buy the new clothing-materials, then this particularly close relation between religion and clothing would be established. This kind of explanation would not hold however, for an understanding of stability of native custom as regards medicine or birth- or death-procedures. One can only make a negative statement here and this to the effect that the three aspects of Tongan culture just mentioned do not result in behaviour that might conflict with the teachings of a Christian morality. Hence there has been no organized pressure to bring about a change of belief or behaviour.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of 177
language. In general, it seems to be the rule that when there 178
is close and long-continued contact between two cultures 197
there is a tendency for the language of the culture which is represented by a clear majority of carriers to become the language of communication between the two cultures and ultimately the language of the new culture that results from the culture contact situation. Hawaii and New Zealand may be compared with Tonga and Samoa. Hawaiian and Maori are of course still spoken languages, but they are giving way before the spread of English, the language of the culture of the majority. In Tonga and Samoa, Europeans still represent only a very minor fraction of the total population, and the native language still constitutes the functioning language of the present-day native culture.

In the study at this time of situations that result from 177
the contact of cultures, it is simple for the social scientist to 121
raise many more questions and problems than can possibly be answered with the empirical data now available. To collect these data we have need of both a contemporary and an historical study of any particular native society which has been influenced by processes of cultural transference. Ultimately it seems likely that the key to the understanding of what these processes mean and how they come about will lie in the cross-fertilization of social data by the results of modern psychological research.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA.

I.

THE BORDERLAND OF MYTH.

SEEING that the past is the key to the present, I was at 121
some pains to learn the history of Tonga. This tiny [161]
kingdom of 20,000 people, inhabiting widely scattered [197]
islands, but speaking the same language, intermarrying, and obeying the same Government, boasted so complicated a social polity that its history, as an illustration of the growth of human institutions, is worthy of study for its own sake.

Until the introduction of Christianity swept away the 175
old beliefs and the institutions that depended on them, 643
there were in Tonga a spiritual and a temporal king. The former—the Tui Tonga—was lord of the soil, and enjoyed divine honours in virtue of his immortal origin; but he had an ever-diminishing share in the government, and he could take no part in any civil quarrel. His sole duty

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

634 to become the paramount influence in Tongan politics. Ruthless, energetic and ambitious, a notable warrior and leader of men, he failed to established himself in Tongatabu, in spite of successful raids and campaigns.

669 With the close of the eighteenth century we reach a period whose history has found European chroniclers, and of which the main events and tendencies are well known.

643 Before going further it will be well to insert a list of the Tui Kano-kupolu:—

173
1. Ngata c. 1650.
2. Ata-mata-ila.
3. Mataele Tua-piko.
4. Mataele Haamea.
5. Vuna.
6. Maafu-o-tuitonga.
7. Tupou-lahi.
8. Maea-liuaki (1777).
9. Tui-hala-fatai.
10. Tupou-lahi-jii.
11. Mumui (d. 1797).
12. Tukuaho (1797-1800).
13. Muli-ki-haamea (killed in battle 1800).
14. Tupou Moheofo (woman).
15. Maafu-o-limu-loa (not properly of the line, but held the office temporarily).
16. Tupou-malohi.
17. Tupou-toa.
18. Alea-motua (d. 1845).
19. Taufa-ahau (1845-1893). Unga. Fuji-pala (female).
20. George Taufa-ahau II. (1893-1918).
21. Salote Vei-ongo (1918).

[illegible]

It is plain that the descent is not strictly from father to son. The succession was kept within the one family, but the heads of the clan had the power to prevent the title
669 falling into the hands of the young or incapable. At the end of the eighteenth century began a long period of unrest, which effectually prevented dignity remaining with the weak. During this period the tenure of life and office was
643 precarious, and frequently brief. Intermarriages of this line with the Tui Tonga line are common, so that although
581 the title of Tui Tonga is no longer bestowed, yet the blood of the ancient kings flows in full stream in the veins of those who have succeeded them in rule.

It is not my purpose to attempt here any detailed account
121 of the last hundred years. Material dealing with the nineteenth century is fairly abundant and easily accessible. It remains but to indicate briefly the final passing of the kingship to the Tui Kano-kupolu. The consummation of this
669 revolution, of which the germs have been already noted, is
[1777 intimately connected with the coming of the European and Christianity, and with the life work of a very remarkable
1797] man, Taufaahau, baptized George. The nineteenth century

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

EURO-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION IN TONGA.

By Edward Winslow Gifford.
University of California.

THE Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga, a British protector- 131
ate, lies about a thousand miles north of New Zealand, four hundred south of Samoa, and two hundred east
of Fiji. The population of Tonga in April, 1921, was 24,935, 161
of which 23,759 were Tongans, 235 were other Pacific Islanders, 706 were other foreigners (chiefly Europeans), and 235 were half castes. The Tongan population of to-day is probably nearly as numerous as it was in Captain Cook's day.

There is no European colonization in progress. for 167
foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land except by 423
lease. The Tongans are Christians. The most important 795
church is the Free Church of Tonga, an offshoot of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church.* Two-thirds of the population belong to it. Next in numerical importance are the Wesleyan-Methodists and the Roman Catholics, each holding about a sixth of the population. Then follow the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Episcopalians. Religious rivalry is keen.

With unimpaired population, with no Caucasian con- 177
queror in the land, and with its instiutions functioning 171
almost entirely through Tongans (except for friendly British financial direction), the kingdom of Tonga offers something of a parallel in Euro-American acculturation to the empire of Japan.

It is the aim of the writer to present a number of 121 ●
examples, to make clear the manner in which acculturation is proceeding.

Tonga is now a constitutional monarchy with a legis- 643
lative assembly composed of ministers, nobles, and elected [642]
representatives of the people. The present monarch is Queen

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* A majority of the Free Church and the Wesleyan-Methodists have this year, 1924, re-united.—Ed.

[p. 281]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sionary Society; while three years more were 797
devoted, under the direction of the British and
Foreign Bible Society, to the completion of a translation of the entire Bible into the native tongue, in
the original preparation of which several honoured
Missionaries had largely shared.

These engagements must be the writer's apology 128
for offering to the public the "Reminiscences" of
a Missionary career completed several years ago.

As nothing has been here written from any other 121
motive than that of conveying useful information, and with the sincere desire to promote a warmer and more self-sacrificing Missionary spirit among Christian people, the volume is commended to the kindly consideration of the reader, and, above all, to the blessing of the Most High, the effects of whose saving power it narrates, and whose glory the author humbly seeks to magnify.

Keighley, Yorkshire,
July, 1865.

[p. x is blank]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER IV.

MISTAKES in the geographical distribution of the Friendly Islands—Extent of Polynesia Proper—Polarity of many of the groups—New Zealand probably peopled from Tonga—Tongatabu and its adjacent Islands—Haabai, or the Central Islands—Intermediate Islands of Huga—Late—Haafuluhao, or the Vavau Islands—Islands still further North—Native Tradition respecting Wallis's Island, or Uvea—The Friendly Islands a type of Polynesia in general—Varied developments of structure—Volcanic Origin of the Islands—Extensive volcanic agency in activity—Destruction of Fonua Lei in 1846—Captain Samson's account of a cloud of dust and ashes—Personal visit to Fonua Lei in 1848—Eruption in Niua Foöu in 1853—Destruction of Native Village and Chapel—Remarkable Incidents—State of the volcano in 1854—Native Letter—Sermon on the supposed site of the destroyed village—New volcano in Late—Volcano in Tofua—Formation of two new volcanic Islands in 1857—Upheaving of reefs—General conclusions—Classification of reefs—Dangerous reef-waves—Openings in reefs accounted for—Explanation of absence of Barrier Reefs in many volcanic Islands. 000

IT seems necessary, for the sake of clearness in our narrative, that we should now give a general outline of the geographical distribution of the Friendly Islands, considered as an entire insular system, and of some of their more prominent natural characteristics. More minute detail and description, where necessary, will be given, in our own personal reminiscences of residence, in the several distinct groups comprehended within the limits of Tonguese dominion. 121

The absence of correct information on these points has occasioned many gross mistakes, in the works of writers on Polynesian subjects; and has also led to serious errors in those maps and charts upon which the safety of navigators, in such unknown and dangerous regions, entirely depends. For example: it is stated by Dr. Russell, in his 121 114 114

[p. 71]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

114 very valuable and interesting work on Polynesia, that "the Tonga, the Fiji, and the Navigator Islands, are so closely associated, in regard to position, and physical character, that it seems impossible to assign any other reason why they should not all be considered as one group, than that they have been variously named by successive visitors."* Now, it will be found that, in the construction of many maps and charts, this opinion has evidently been followed, because the whole of these groups are covered, in many of them, by one general designation. Whereas, by geographical distribution, difference of language, and by various [101] ethnological distinctions, they are as truly separate nationalities, as are the inhabitants of the Grecian archipelago, when compared with those of Orkney or Shetland.

121 *Oceania* is now regarded, by geographers, as forming a fifth division of the globe. It includes the large islands, and extensive archipelagoes, in the Pacific, between the south-eastern shores of Asia and the western coast of America. This insular region is separated from Asia, by the Gulf of Martaban, the Strait of Malacca, the Chinese Sea, and the sea to the south and east of Japan; and from America, by the wide expanse of ocean, which is free of islands, between the western shores of that continent, and the most easterly parts of Polynesia. This island-world extends over about 6,200 miles of north and south latitude, and nearly 11,000 miles of east and west longitude. The land area has been computed at about 4,500,000 square

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[113] * "Polynesia: or an Historical Account of the Principal Islands in the South Sea, including New Zealand," by the Right Rev. M. Russell, LL.D., p. 241.

miles, and the population at not less than thirty |21| millions. These figures, however, must be taken under considerable reserve, seeing that no portion of the globe has been so neglected as this, in regard to those surveys and scientific explorations, upon which alone such computations can be founded with safety. This vast region has been, in recent years, distributed into five portions, called respectively, Malaysia, Micronesia, Melanasia, Australasia, and Polynesia. In some respects these divisions are well-defined and convenient, but, in the present work, we shall not strictly follow them.

By Polynesia Proper, we understand the numerous groups which lie within fifty degrees, on either side, of the prime meridian; and between the fiftieth parallel of south, and the thirtieth of north, latitude. We thus *exclude* the continent of Australia, and the whole of the large and numerous islands of the Indian Seas, and we *include* the islands of Micronesia, and Melanasia. This portion, then, of the insular system of the Pacific Ocean, will be found to extend over 7,000 miles in the one direction, and nearly 5,600 miles in the other. We call |10| the Friendly Islands "South-central Polynesia," |13| because, by drawing a semi-circular line through the southern portion of the region indicated, starting from the Ladrone Islands in the west, to the extremity of the Paumotu group in the east, the Friendly Islands will be found lying, about midway on the line, between 15° and 23° south latitude, and 173° and 176° west longitude.

Like most of the smaller archipelagoes of Polynesia, the Tonga Islands trend in a direction from |33 north to south, indicating, beyond doubt, a striking polarity in their structure, although this is still

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 THIS small list of Tongan words is intended to supple-
ment the well known dictionary of Dr. Shirley Baker,
128 which is founded on that of the Rev. S. Rabone. This is
referred to in this list as Baker. The French and Tongan
Dictionary of the Marist Mission is referred to as Diction-
128 naire Toga-Français. No attempt has been made to include
127 here all words which occur in the latter dictionary but not
in Baker, though some few words which have been
encountered casually in other places, but which are included
in the Marists' publication, are inserted here, sometimes
128 with meanings taken from their book. A few words which
occur in Baker have also been included when it has seemed
121 possible to add something to his explanation. It is not to be
114 presumed that this supplementary list taken in conjunction
with the two dictionaries referred to form an adequate Ton-
121 gan dictionary. This is merely an attempt to contribute
127 my very small quota to the task of the future dictionary-
maker by putting in permanent and easily accessible form
words which I have from time to time encountered in con-
versation, and in the reading of Tongan poems and tales,
some of them in manuscript and some printed, mainly in
Koe Makasini, the Tongan magazine founded, and long
127 edited, by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton. Much of the manu-
script material to which I have had access was collected by
him.

127 Although some words are included from easily accessible
128 printed sources, for example, Mr. E. W. Gifford's *Tongan
Myths and Tales* (Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, 1924),
and a very few from the masterpiece of Tongan composition,
Dr. Moulton's Translation of the Bible, no effort has been
made to include all words from sources which are in no
danger of disappearing or being overlooked. The few words
from the Bible are such as have casually come under my
notice. If the highly desirable task of compiling a satisfac-
tory and adequate dictionary of the Tongan language be
ever undertaken there is little likelihood of words printed in
the Bible, or in Hymn Books, being missed.

128 Too frequently I have had to admit my ignorance of the
meaning of a word. This illustrates one of the disadvantages
of compiling, or completing, such a list at a distance from
the country where the language is spoken. Where I have
marked a word as of uncertain meaning it is not to be pre-
sumed that the word is rare. "Meaning uncertain" is

23: Co.lccott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 merely a confession of my own ignorance. This list is not the fruit of systematic collection of words. It has been compiled more or less casually, and doubtless as much has been missed as is included.

114 Through the inspiration, and under the guidance, of Mr. A. R. Brown and the Hon. William Tungi, a committee was formed in 1918 to compile a dictionary, but, for various reasons, ceased to function after a few meetings. The need that a dictionary should include all forms in which a root is found will be readily appreciated by those who have noted the readiness with which consonants drop out in the Oceanic languages. There are, moreover, in Tongan, as in all languages, words which do not lie on the surface, some of which perhaps are obsolete or obsolescent, whilst others, though well known to the native, do not come within the ken of the foreigner even after years of use of the language. Until dictionaries are compiled including all words conclusions as to distribution of various streams of migration may rest upon insecure foundations insofar as philological evidence is relied upon.

192 There are words included in this list which are felt by the Tongans to be loan words, largely from Fiji; there are other words which by their form suggest borrowing from Fiji or Samoa, but are not felt as loan words by the present-
[195] day Tongan. Bards seem frequently to embellish their compositions with such evidences of foreign erudition. My
121 purpose has been, not to settle all the difficulties which the dictionary-maker will meet, but to ensure that he will have at his disposal the small amount of material which I have collected, and to afford some slight assistance to anyone who may desire to read the Tongan poems and tales, and also to indicate the meanings of words which one may hear in conversation but not find in his dictionary.

104 In orthography I fear that I have not lessened the confusion that already exists. Two consonants have had
114 especially harsh treatment in Tongan, *b* or *p*, and *s* or *j*. *B* and *p* are both used by Mariner who was in the group at the beginning of the 19th century, *b* alone is used by the English Methodist Mission, and *p* alone by the French Catholic Mission. Dr. Baker used both. The dictionary committee of 1918, which included representatives of the Government, and of the English and French mission bodies, decided, undoubtedly correctly, to employ but one symbol for

26. Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of T.
European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such 532
caps,[*] the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. 171
Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan
material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of
the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected
Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed
as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object
was produced.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

T
This paper forms an introduction to the study of the 121
numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods 127
which escaped destruction and found refuge in various T
museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses 127
an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce
and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the
British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my
examination of the rich material in that wonderful but
woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due
to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access
to their private collections and for drawing my attention T
to the Tongan images. The line drawings in this paper 128
were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera 126
by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a
Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employ- T
ment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make 128
the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American 122
Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the
study of the material culture of central Polynesia.

CONCLUSIONS.

T
Wooden images, though not common in western Poly- S
nesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the 532
solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan 171

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[*] In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the T
ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of [113]
missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand;* Mrs. [illegible] White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs, p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—ED.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of 121
Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh [77i]
forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together
a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have
dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to
the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but
merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which
has not been so fully described as some others.

TABU

GENERAL REMARKS

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as 103
Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga. Very
frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi
(Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes 784
its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the 565
great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the [103]
offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount [829]
and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred
polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the
people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark
on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on
account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indi- 784
cating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas,* frequently equivalent to 778
the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh,*
the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds
mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

LAND TENURE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION IN TONGA

By R. R. NAYACAKALOU

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS IS THE first of several papers examining the relationship between 121
land tenure and social organisation in three Pacific Island communities—
Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. My initial interest in the subject lay primarily in
elucidating the social implications of the Fijian land tenure system, especially
in its relation to present-day developments in the social and economic fields;
but it soon became evident that for such a study the comparative approach
would give a firmer base—hence the inclusion of Tonga and Samoa. Choice
of these territories arose partly from practical considerations[1] but partly
also from the fact that their systems are variant from the Fijian type in
different ways.

The plan of the papers will follow closely the plan of the research which
forms the basis of them. The relation between land tenure and social [128]
organisation will be studied separately in respect of Tonga, Samoa and then
Fiji, and a final paper will draw the threads together in a general way,
indicating the relevance of the conclusions to the Fijian situation in
particular.

The research work on which the paper is based was carried out from 101
early December, 1957, to mid-February, 1958; I spent a total of five weeks
in Tonga, three weeks in Samoa and three weeks in Fiji. In view of the 127
brevity of these periods, I have depended rather heavily upon existing documentary
material for the background knowledge in the light of which my own
material has been presented. I feel that while my own contribution has its 114
value, the brevity of the fieldwork should be kept in mind in assessing the
value of the conclusions drawn.

In Tonga I stayed in the capital town of Nuku'alofa with an old friend,
Mr. Mahe Uliuli Tupouniua, at the time Government Auditor in Tonga and
formerly a colleague at the University of Auckland. My interpreter was
Mr. Puniloa Afu, a Training College student on vacation at the time. My
centre of research was four miles from where I lived, but I was able to get
there and back each day by motor cycle. In Samoa, through lack of a suitable 000
informant and also owing to the refusal of the people to discuss land
matters in a village which I intended to investigate in detail, I was unable
to obtain much first hand information. But owing to the very willing cooperation
and assistance of the members of the Lands Department, and
particularly the assistance given me by the Judge of the Land and Titles
Court, I secured information which I think worth publishing. In Fiji I
worked mainly in Suva, checking up on and expanding the knowledge already
gained in connection with an earlier field trip.

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[1] These were the most accessible considering the normal movements of [114]
passenger traffic in the area and the time at my disposal; also they were of
special interest to me as I was responsible for the teaching of the course
on the ethnography of Fiji, Tonga and Samoa given at the Department of
Anthropology in the University of Auckland.

> stay here, if I can get an *api*. I like it here because there are many 423
> more facilities here than there are in Vava'u—transport, employment, 425
> and also the land is easier to work here, for Vava'u is rough and rocky country . . .

C

> I got my *api* from my father. I have two brothers living in this village, but neither has an *api* of his own. There are also two sisters, one of whom is married in this village and the other unmarried. I use my *api*
> on my own. I don't sell any copra from it—only bananas; about 10 or [433]
> 15 cases per shipment. Last time I sold 7 cases, and before that 12.
> The most I have ever done is 35 cases . . . I pay 8/- a year for my [651]
> *api*; and sometimes I take my first fruits to the chief. He never asks me for anything . . .

It appears that acquiring land is not as simple an affair as a
perusal of the legal rules would make it out to be. While full control [645]
of the allotment of *api* is legally vested in the Minister of Lands,
there are considerable local factors to be reckoned with. One of the [622]
most important of these is the authority of the hereditary holder of the *tofia*, which appears to be considerable despite the strict letter of the law. For while the law lays it down that application should be made to the Lands Department which should find the land, reference to the holder of the *tofia* being distinctly secondary, in practice this procedure seems to be reversed. Furthermore, while expulsion is a matter for the Minister of Lands to decide, it is difficult to imagine that, from the nature of the chief's authority over his people and their relations to him and to one another, his decision to expel is exactly as meaningless as the legal system is prepared to grant.[21]

5—The Distribution of Village Lands

Although land holdings are legally conceived and recorded in terms 423
of individuals, I shall, in this section, consider the distribution of land 121
in terms of households. This approach has distinct advantages from the point of view of a social study, for individuals do not exist *in vacuo* and in any case other features of the Tongan economy are best understood in these terms.

The material already given shows that the number of households 592
in the village and the number of *api* normally held within the village 423
tally pretty well—106 households to 107 *api* (including currently vacant *api*). Hence if distribution were in terms of households the task of allocation would be a relatively simple matter. However, there are several factors always forcing this fairly symmetrical relationship into the oblique position where there are households without *api*, *api* not being occupied by any households, households with more than one *api* and *api* being used by more than one household. The actual distribution of *api* among the 106 households is as follows:

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[21] In this and other matters, the spirit of the culture still plays queer tricks with the letter of the law.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE

● 121 What we present here is basically a photographic narrative—though by no means comprehensive—of the story of Tonga: showing how the myriad, complex elements of her past evolved and became interwoven into the tapestry of life that this small but proud Polynesian Kingdom reveals today as her own.

128 Captions are bi-lingual; they were translated into
Tongan loosely, rather than verbatim, in order to
127 capture their meaning. Reproduced here are
engravings taken from valuable, often rare volumes
of exploring voyages for the benefit of Tongans who
otherwise would not have the opportunity of seeing
how early life in Tonga was—or at least how it was
viewed by some of the first visitors to Tonga.
126 Combined with these are modern-day photos which
our photographer was able to procure only through
the hospitality and kindnesses of many people in
Tonga.

128 Producing *Tonga Pictorial—Kupesi 'o Tonga* was a mammoth undertaking which required the assistance and cooperation of countless people. Among those persons whom we of the Tofua Press would like to extend our special thanks for aiding us in our work, advising us about our problems, and caring for us in our times of need, are: Princess Pilolevu, the Government of Tonga, Honorable Ve'ehala, Toe'umu Fineanganofo, Minioneti Misieli, Tupou Posesi Fanua, Futa & Kaloni Helu, Laumakia Tupou, Liu & Maile Tongilava, Tu'ifua 'Utoikamanu, Pat Matheson, Siosiua Fonua, Tonga

[P. V-A]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

INTRODUCTION

101 Tonga today is in many ways identifiable with the Tonga of, say, the last century. The culture and traditions that identified us with the rest of Polynesia, even in its complexities and complications, are still our heritage and proud possessions.

Through the years of transition and outside influence, we are still a proud people and hold tremendous pride that we have been able to retain our identity without sacrificing development.

121 *Tonga Pictorial--A Tapestry of Pride* vividly outlines Tonga's involvement in the "march of time" and a picture of Tonga today. Whoever reads this book will, I'm sure, become fully aware of our heritage and the basis for the retention of our identity.

000 *What to and what not to* preserve is a choice only we Tongans can make. It is my fervent hope that whatever cultural values and traditions we of Tonga today decide to hold on to, will not cause future generations to scorn us for being shortsighted.

[P.xi-A]

'Ofa atu,
Siosiua H. Fonua,
Editor, *The Tonga Chronicle*

SHIFTING CULTIVATION AND POPULATION GROWTH IN TONGA

by

ALARIC MAUDE

The relationship between population growth 121
and agricultural systems has been a central question
in some of the recent geographical work in the Pacific Islands (e.g. Brookfield, 1962; Clarke, 1966; Lea, 1965). This paper seeks to contribute to this [161]
body of research through a study of the effect of population growth on the agricultural system of Tonga, an island group which in common with a number of other South Pacific territories has experienced rapid rates of population increase in recent decades. The study also attempts to assess the extent to which the arguments of Ester Boserup on the relationship between agriculture and population growth can be usefully applied to the process of agricultural change in Tonga. Boserup's thesis (Boserup, 1965) essentially is that the intensification of traditional agricultural systems from long fallow to short fallow to multi-cropping occurs only when forced by population pressure, because such intensification involves an increase in labour input and a decrease in output per man-hour. She therefore regards the agricultural system as the dependent variable in the relationship between population and agriculture, and explains differences in cultivation systems as the result of differences in population densities.

THE AGRICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

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433
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The chain of some 150 islands in Western Polynesia which forms the Kingdom of Tonga has a total land area of 256 square miles and supports a population of about 81,000 (1968). The economy is overwhelmingly agricultural, and is based largely on subsistence food cropping and the export of bananas, copra and desiccated coconut. Over 90 per cent of Tongans live in the three main groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u (Fig. 1), where almost all the islands are of raised limestone formation. The climatic variable of greatest agricultural significance is rainfall, which increases from a mean of 67 inches at Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) to

an allotment partly-to-fully planted in coconuts, 245
and two types of land use (which in neighbouring 241
parts of the Pacific are largely kept separate) are increasingly being combined on the same site.

While inter-cropping amongst coconuts has [171]
become common in Southeast Asia and has many economic and technical advantages under systems of more continuous cropping (F.A.O., 1966), under present Tongan conditions the result is not satisfactory.[1] Coconut yields may be temporarily improved by the occasional clearing of the bush growth for new gardens, but the burning of the cut vegetation scars the base of the palms and once a garden is finished the fallow vegetation is allowed to grow up around the coconuts to form a tangled mass. This fallow growth not only competes with the palms for plant nutrients and soil moisture but also makes it difficult for the grower to collect the nuts. Competition also comes from the crops planted, for no attempt is made to keep a clear space around each palm and, except in the case of bananas and watermelons, no fertilizer is used. Consequently only where a cash crop that will pay the cost of fertilizing is grown is inter-cropping probably of benefit to coconut yields, and where coconuts and food crops are grown together the yields of both are reduced by competition, shading and damage to the root systems of the coconuts. As yet, there is therefore no satisfactory integration between the bush fallow food cropping system and the coconut plantation.

THE EFFECT OF POPULATION GROWTH ON AGRICULTURE 121 ●

The effect of population growth on the agricultural system outlined above can be studied by examining the system in the more densely populated areas of the Kingdom (the areas in which the system is now under the greatest pressure from population growth), and by comparing agrarian conditions in these areas with those in the less densely populated districts. This aspect of the study is here confined to Tongatapu and the Ha'apai Group (excluding Tofua and Kao), which are made up of islands basically similar in climate, topography and soil.

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[1] This account describes the situation before the current Coconut Replanting Scheme began to have a significant effect on Tongan agriculture.

[p. 60-A]

ing may be more than offset by increases in overall 241
production because of the longer period of cropping. 134
Shifting cultivation systems, in other words, are
fairly flexible, and may be able to undergo a good 182
deal of intensification without change in the technique
of maintaining soil fertility.

A brief examination of possible areas of stress 241
within the agricultural system, following the approach 134
of Farmer, Lea and Street (Farmer, 1954;
Lea, 1964; Street, 1969), suggests that the above 182
argument might possibly apply to Tonga. Increased 121
intensity of cropping will produce changes in the
fallow vegetation, in soil fertility and erosion, and
in crop yields, and the severity of these changes
gives an indication of the extent to which changes
in the bush fallow system are necessary.

Firstly, increased intensity of land use has resulted 241
in some changes in the fallow vegetation. In the 182
densely settled areas the secondary growth consists
of grasses and other herbaceous plants, and shrubs 241
such as lantana (*Lantana camara*), and guava (*Psidium* 182
guajava). Only where the fallow period is about 137
four or more years in length do trees such as *Hibiscus*
tiliaceus and *Rhus simarubaefolia* (*Rhus taitensis*)
become established. Farmers in Ha'apai complain 241
that more work is now needed to control grasses 182
and other weeds, many of them in fact introduced,
and the metal push hoe, introduced into Tonga last 412
century, is now essential for land preparation and
weeding.

Soil erosion, another possible indication of stress, 241
is not a serious problem, and in Ha'apai and Tongatapu, 134
the most intensively cultivated groups, the
likelihood of erosion is restricted by the porous 182
soil, the underground drainage and the lack of relief.
On the other hand, it is widely believed that
soil fertility in the more densely settled areas, particularly
in Ha'apai, has declined with the increasing
intensity of land use. The majority of farmers questioned
in areas of high population density felt that
yields had declined and blamed the shortening of the
fallow period, while some also cited the increased
planting of coconuts as a factor. These beliefs are [125]
partially supprorted by the results of chemical analyses
made of Tongatapu and Ha'apai soils. On the

44: Posesi Fanua G,I-5 (no date) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE PALACE OFFICE
'OFISI 'OE PALASI

I would like to make it clear to the public that this book is not a linguistic work, neither is it an historical one. It is written for entertainment's sake and to try and offer my own people, and others that may be interested, something to while away some time that may seem too long for them.

Na'e 'ikai fa'u e tohi ni ko ha tohi fakahisitolia pe tufunga lea. Ka 'oku ou fakatauange 'e ma'u ai ha fiefia 'a ha ni'ihi, kae'uma'ā 'a hoku fanga tokoua, pea mo e vūlangi kotoa.

Tupou Posesi Fanua

[p.6]

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP ORGANISATION AND BEHAVIOUR IN A CONTEMPORARY TONGAN VILLAGE

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I should like to thank Professor Toichi Mabuchi for suggestions and Professor William Newell for criticism of the manuscript. I also wish to thank the villagers who so kindly assisted me in my work. 000

PREFACE

This is a descriptive study on the kinship organisation and behaviour 121
of Tongan commoners in a contemporary Tongan village. It will discuss
the following questions. 1. Within what kind of kinship network do
people live in a rural area of Tonga today? 2. How do they behave in
such a network?

Kinship in Tonga has been variously described in the literature. 60
According to G. P. Murdock(1) the Tongans are classified as an extended 594
family type with polygamous household; patrilocal residence, but matri- 595
local residence as a patterned alternative; limited polygymy; absence of 591
any unilinear kin groups; bilateral kindred; cross cousin marriage is 613
disapproved symmetrically but not specifically forbidden. In these 612
characteristics we do not find any particular kin group except kindred. 582
But, on the other hand, R. Firth,(2) and others,(3) discuss the *ha'a* which 612
is called an optataive descent group or sept or ramage.(4) According to 613
their definition the *ha'a* is not of a kindrod type but resembles a lineage
in several ways. Are there, then, two types of kin group in Tonga? If 121
there are two, how do they work together? Through the intensive study
of a small village, I will try to clarify the above point.

I stayed in the Kingdom of Tonga from July 1962 to February 1963, 101
and the field work for this paper was done in Nukuleka village from
November 1962 to January 1963. Nukuleka is located in the eastern part 121

1. Murdock 1957: 681.
2. Firth 1957: 6.
3. Davenport 1959: 562.
4. Sahlins 1958: 139-150.

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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

121 of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village
[101] was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in
Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way
of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study.
124 Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for
my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English
through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

162 According to the Government census of 1956(5) the population of
161 Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109
621 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of
the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase
621 of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons,
162 there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads
serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These
621 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37
166 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight
married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live
[162] at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The
two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage.
Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village
(male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are
brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but
now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most
of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because
they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the
relatives.

All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen
621 years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax
423 allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged
[651] to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the
[651] noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.(6) Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra
land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed
them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api
tukuhau* of about 8½ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have
not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their
[463] relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working
[241] the land.

Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village
621 location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly
226 every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few
[432]

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5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1958.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Panige. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

764 The next morning, they take off the white cloth and *feta'u,* and wrap the corpse again with bark cloth of *launima,* named *kumifonua.* Further, they wrap it with all the mats and bark cloths they can afford and all the gifts the callers have given. When a coffin is not used, the corpse is wrapped with *kumifonua,* is put on a ladder shaped frame, (*fata*), and is then carried by men, six or eight consisting of distant relatives, to the graveyard. If the dead person is a man, a *fata* can not be carried by his younger brother and children, and if a woman, her brother can not touch it. Close relations would also not carry it. While others sing hymns, neighbours, friends and remote relations dig the grave and carry up white sand from the beach. When the funeral reaches the graveyard, the priest gives an oration. Then the coffin is lowered into the grave by remote male relations. The grave is filled with sand by those present. After burial, the *ulu i famili* makes a brief speech, expressing his thanks to the people at the cemetery and informing them of the feast if one is held.(24) For the funeral feast, *pulua, fa'e tangata* and the sons of the deceased make enough *umu* to distribute one basket of food to each attendant.
[276] Usually the last basket is presented to the *matapule.* Sometimes *pulua*
[579] is held on the same or sometimes on the following day of the funeral, when *kava* drinking is occasionally arranged.

765 Years ago, *liongi* cut their hair to show their grief and even now
[302] they do not dare to comb their hair for the same reason.(25) The family and close relations sit by the beautifully decorated grave for at least ten
[784] days. By this time, the *tapu* between brother and sister will be lifted,
[593] and the sister may tend the grave of her brother. Relations and villagers
[602] wear a big ragged mat for mourning, called *taovala putu* for ten days, but
[292] the family members of the deceased wearing it for nearly one year. For these ten days, enjoying movies or beating bark cloth are not allowed for the whole village. At the end of this period merry-making may be held and the relatives from a distance return to their home village .

VIII — Some Concluding Observations on Ramification and Stratification

In the previous chapters, I have tried to describe the organisation
121 and behaviour of kinship found in a Tongan village today. As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, I do not intend to analyse it theoretically, but to depict it as descriptively as possible. My reason for choosing the latter approach is mainly because there is a scarcity of information.
114 'Tongan Society', by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. I suppose this is because he collected his data mainly from the noble class, and also it is thirty years since his field survey.

613 The most important difference, it appears to me, is in regard to
14 *ha'a.* I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to
565 commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware

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24. According to Beaglehole *ha'a tufunga,* undertaker, presides over everything in the graveyard. But the villagers say that *ha'a tufunga* will be employed only in case of the chief's death.
25. Koch 1955: 88.

PREFACE

The research on which this dissertation is based was 101
conducted on the Polynesian island of Tongatapu, the main island of the Kingdom of Tonga. My interest in Tonga was 121
first stimulated in 1967 when I came across repeated references to the effect that in Tonga adaptations to social and cultural change have been particularly harmonious. The following is a typical statement:

> The Kingdom of Tonga is a democracy adapted to meet Tongan present-day needs and old-established customs. The shoe is well-cut and, if new in parts, it does not pinch painfully (MacQuarrie 1955: 191).

At the same time, I found that there was little solid 114
information available on Tonga, and even less in the way of sociological reporting. To this day, the only book on village life in 20th-century Tonga is a short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941), based on a two-month field study conducted a few months before the outbreak of World War II. In the preface to the monograph, they make the following statement:

> Despite years of contact with an invading western 114
> European culture, village culture has adapted itself 177
> with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life (1941: 4).

The Beagleholes seemed to confirm what the other
writers said. However, I noted that they spoke of a 114
situation observed more than a generation ago. Further 121
reading suggested to me that, whatever the conditions of
village life then, they might be very different today.
This was based primarily on broad statistical data,
especially those relating to population growth. Another
set of data also seemed to me to be relevant to the likelihood
of change in Tonga, data relating to the post-war
expansion of education. These data suggested that a study
of adaptations to change in Tongan society might profitably
be focused on an enquiry into the role of education in
contemporary Tonga. Such an enquiry would also yield
comparative data on one of the major social issues in
developing countries, namely, the extent of congruity
between the aspirations of the young people and the range
of alternatives available to them. This issue could be
particularly critical in Tonga, given the limitations of
the Tongan economy and the fact of increasing population.

These, then, are the major questions I took with me 114
in going to the field. As it turned out, while I was able 121
to do some research into young people's aspirations and
did investigate the question of access to education, my
enquiry into other aspects of education did not go much

beyond that. Within a few days of my arrival in the Kingdom, I learned that a two-volume dissertation on the relationship between education and socio-economic development in Tonga had been completed just two years earlier (Kavaliku 1967). The author was the Honourable Langi Kavaliku, who was serving as Minister without Portfolio at the time I arrived in Tonga and appointed Minister of Education a few weeks later (the first Tongan commoner to serve in that position). Dr. Kavaliku was most gracious and encouraging in welcoming my research. Nevertheless, after reading his dissertation, I felt I would have to redefine my project if I was not to spend much of my time duplicating what he had done. I thought at that point that I might focus on young people's aspirations and collect data that could be compared with findings from other countries.

My original research design called for me to start with the educational system and trace how it related to other features of the society. Accordingly, I had proposed to locate myself at one of the secondary schools and work outwards through contacts made with students at the school. Since virtually all the major secondary schools in the country were located on the island of Tongatapu, most of them in and around Nuku'alofa, the capital town, it seemed clear to me that I should be based in Nuku'alofa.

By the end of my first week in Tonga I had obtained permission from the government and the school authorities to conduct my research at the only government school that prepares students for university entrance (one of four such schools in the country), and I began a routine of daily visits to the school. By the end of the second week, I was beginning to see that there was too much that I would not comprehend that way. A petty matter that forced me to recognize this was that I could not understand the system of family names and hence could make little sense of the school records. It occured to me that if I had this problem with names I was bound to encounter much more of *anga faka-Tonga* ('Tongan custom') whose meaning would elude me, especially as I did not speak Tongan. The following is an extract from a field report written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga: 114 121

> Given what I have learned after a profitable month at the center of things, my best bet now is to head for the villages. Until I have learned more about Tonga, I doubt that it would be productive to be in town, where it is too much of a struggle for me at present to avoid being confined to association only with people of high status.
>
> As you know, before I came here, I had considered the possibility of studying a particular high school. That no longer seems a good idea. Students scatter after school hours, too widely for me to be able to keep track of them, at least given my present social ignorance. It seems to me that it would be better to use a local community as a focus and work outwards from there, encompassing the schools in one direction among others, rather than using the school as a center.

Thus, in the second month of my fieldwork, I moved from

the capital to live in a village. The village that was 114
chosen was close enough for me to have easy access to the 121
secondary schools and centers of government and adminis-
tration in Nuku'alofa, but sufficiently removed that I was
forced to learn the Tongan language and was in a much
better position to learn *anga faka-Tonga*.

The move to the village in itself necessitated a
shift in the focus of my research, from an emphasis on the
system of education to consideration of the wider context
of the system. Beyond that, however, the more I learned
about village life the more firmly I came to the conclusion
that, to understand the context of education in Tonga, one
must begin with elements of local organization. The reason 554
is that access to land and other resources are limiting 423
factors in whatever life strategy a person might adopt and 871
may critically affect possibilities of access to education.

In studying the question of access to resources, I found myself moving further and further from my original topic, away from an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga towards a study of the kinds of alternatives available to ordinary people in Tongan society. Thus my research became focused on the organization of Tongan society at the local level. Enquiry into the role of education in social change would have had to include an investigation of the relationship between education and

government, on the one hand, and the system of stratification 114
on the other. For reasons set out in Chapters I and 121
VI, these are topics that cannot be adequately dealt with
in the context of a study of village Tonga. To pursue
these topics, therefore, I would have had to set aside my
village study and return to Nuku'alofa. This seemed to
me not to be advisable, not only because I would have had
to trace my own way over some of the ground covered by
Langi Kavaliku just a few years previously, but also
because by then my fieldwork in the village was well under
way and I was most reluctant to abandon it. Thus I continued
with my village research.

Something should be said regarding the selection of
the village chosen as my fieldbase. There were five
villages which suited the requirement of being large
enough to promise a diverse population and sufficiently
removed yet within easy access of Nuku'alofa. One of the 114
people with whom I discussed the question of which village 121
would be the most suitable offered to help me find a place 122
in one of them, Motulahi (a fictitious name), the village
in which he lived. At first I was hesitant about accepting
the offer, for he was a government official and I was
concerned about possible implications of being thought to
be associated with the government. However, it was
necessary for me to have someone who would provide me with

sponsorship, wherever I lived, since land is not freely 114
available in Tonga. There seemed little point in avoiding 121
being associated with someone merely because he was a 122
government official, particularly since I would be associated with the government, anyway, through my research in education. I therefore accepted his gracious offer, but declined the further invitation extended both by him and his wife that I live as a member of their household.
Instead, we agreed that I would live in a _fale_ (a 9 x 16 [342]
foot coconut-thatched 'house') that I would have built for me on land at the back of their house. I would do my own cooking in my _fale_, but had free access to their house and use of the indoor plumbing facilities there. While the _fale_ was being built and outfitted, a matter of a few weeks, I lived in a boarding house in Nuku'alofa and
commuted daily to Motulahi. I moved in to my _fale_ in 114
mid-September and that was my base for the next eight
months, until I left Tonga. In all, I was in Tonga for [101]
ten months, from mid-July 1969 through mid-May 1970.
During this period I made two trips of a few days each in
Tongan waters and spent two weeks in Fiji. Except for [101]
these three side-trips, my research was conducted on Tongatapu.

After I came to live in Motulahi my field methods 123
were based on participating as much as I was able in the

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropological treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of 'the social system'. The difficulty is that standard anthropological approaches cannot account for the extensive variability that characterizes Tongan social organization [621] at the local level. Local organization in Tonga is variable in two senses: first, there is considerable diversity within each of the different kinds of social grouping found at the local level, and second, the statistical distributions of these variations change over time. This study attempts to make intelligible the variability of local organization in Tonga.

181 571 Tongans have an idiom--"fa'iteliha"--which is best translated as "to please onself". This idiom expresses a viewpoint about how people conduct themselves. According to this view, people have alternatives in ordering their lives and their choices are freely made. No adult need ask another's advice. Above all, a person does not have to explain himself, his motives, or his actions; on the contrary, fa'iteliha--he pleases himself. Important

options available to ordinary Tongans include the 181
possibility of switching denominational affiliation, 571
changing household membership, shifting kin-group
affiliation, moving to a different village, and varying
the extent of participation in various local activities.
With regard to all these elements, Tongans perceive their [829]
society as one in which there are few prescriptions or
prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering
their lives, and where individuals have considerable
autonomy in exercising their options. My analysis of 121
these materials is concerned in part with identifying
some of the circumstances that lead a person to select
one alternative rather than another.

Previous Anthropological Research in Tonga 114

Despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, none has published more than a few paragraphs dealing with local organization. One cannot be sure whether the absence of a satisfactory account of local organization in Tonga is not merely because no-one has attempted to provide it. Nevertheless, the absence of such an account is curious in view of the number of anthropologists who have worked in Tonga.

The first and most eminent of these anthropologists is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who spent a few years in Tonga of a WHO environmental sanitation project (1958-60). 114 However, neither of them conducted extensive research among Tongan villagers, and the only publication to have resulted from their sojourn in Tonga is Bott's masterful essay on "The Significance of Kava in Tongan Myth and Ritual" (1972). Besides myself, only Aoyagi, Blatchley and Rogers have conducted extensive research on social organization at the local level among Tongan villagers. Rogers was in the field at approximately the same time as I was, but has not yet published anything on local organization in Tonga; Blatchley is still in the field. In summary, despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, there is no satisfactory account of social organization at the local level.

The ethnographic materials presented in this 121
dissertation are concerned with the organization of village life in Tonga. While the extra-local context of village life is indicated in Chapters II and VI, this is dealt with only to the extent that is necessary for understanding certain elements of local organization. To understand the national level of organization, one would have to go beyond a village study, for the national level in Tonga is not simply the local level writ large. I am not alone in 121
pointing this out. In discussing Aoyagi's paper on "Kinship 114
621
Organization and Behavior in a Contemporary Tongan Village" 613

(1966), Kaeppler makes the following comment: 121

> Her failure to elicit information on *ha'a* is not 114
> because they do not exist, but because she asked the 621
> wrong people about them. . . . Aoyagi seems to imply 613
> that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages. . . . can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village (1971: 138-139).

While village structure in Tonga is not a microcosm 621
of the societal structure, the converse is also true; that is, the organization of life at the local level cannot be inferred simply from an account of the societal system.
Despite this, published accounts that focus on village life 114
in Tonga amount to only two monographs and seven articles (not counting articles by me, presenting materials that are dealt with in this dissertation). The most wide-ranging account is given in the short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941). The other monograph (Koch 1955) is a diffusion study concerned mainly with examination of the adoption of new technology. The articles deal with land tenure (Aoyagi 1964, Maude 1971, Nayacakalou 1959), a geographer's description of the look of Tongan villages (Kennedy 1958), adoption practices among commoners (Morton 1977), and the organization of commoner kin groups (Aoyagi 1966, Marcus 1974).

Research at the national level, although more extensive than that dealing with the local level, has also

Preconceptions and Recalcitrant Data

The problem in providing an account of local organization in Tonga is to make sense of the seeming formlessness and flux of Tongan society. The difficulty of this is compounded by certain preconceptions that may be brought to the Tongan data. 121

The first of these preconceptions arises from previous work on Tonga. Much of what has been published relates primarily to the upper levels of Tongan society and is based on data collected mainly from people of high rank, although it is not always identified as such. As a result, anthropologists working among Tongan villagers have been confronted with apparently anomalous data, anomalous in that they do not accord with earlier accounts of social organization in Tonga. Two examples of this are given in Aoyagi's paper on kinship organization in a contemporary village: 114 121

> Tongan Society, by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. . . . The most important difference, it seems to me, is in regard to ha'a [a descent-based grouping]. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live." . . . But the Beagleholes, who made a research at Pangai in Vava'u about ten years later, made a brief note that none of the Pangai commoners: "know their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family." This is the case not only in Nukuleka, but also in Longoteme [another village].

> . . . And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins) can not possibly be found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by [the chief] Leka. Actually, Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified. The principle that every one is ranked by seniority . . . does not exist in fact in the village (1966: 172-174).

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Similarly, Marcus notes:

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> Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga . . . depart in some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter- and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in terms of a given ideology of rank. . . . I had expected the organization of casual groups within the village, especially the organization of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not find this connection (1975a: 35).

Clearly, one cannot generalize from the upper stratum of Tongan society to the entire social system. The fact is that the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers are not simply a lesser version of the concerns of people of the upper strata, and the organization of life at the local level cannot be inferred from accounts of the societal system. 565 [121]

Another preconception that may be brought to the Tongan data, one which is common in anthropology, has been characterized by Pelto and Pelto (1975) as 'resistance to heterogeneity'. They note that "observations concerning intra-community diversities seem to be set aside quickly, 121 as researchers get on with the job of describing 'social structure' and 'typical' cultural patterning" (1975: 1). The Peltos are not the first to call for recognition of intra-societal variation. Indeed, while part of their attack on 'uniformist thinking' is directed specifically at some of the work of Ward Goodenough (1970: 99), the theoretical and methodological implications of intra-societal variability have been a consistent theme in Goodenough's work, beginning as early as 1956 in his paper on "Residence Rules". Others writing in the 1950s who stressed the fact of intra-societal variation include Embree (1950), Leach (1954), and Geertz (1959), and the Peltos provide further examples. Nevertheless, the point remains that "the predominant tendency in anthropological reporting and theory-building continues to be made up of constructions reflecting fundamental assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing " (Pelto and Pelto 1975: 6). 121

To the extent that there is this tendency, it is difficult to make sense of the extensive variability that characterizes Tongan society at the local level. Indeed, I would suggest that assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing are the main reason why Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropological treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of social structure or of the 182 121 621

182 cultural principles that shape people's lives.

621 There are three aspects to the variability of ele-
● [121] ments of local organization in Tonga:

a. There is considerable diversity within each of the
different kinds of social grouping found at the local level.
[592] For example, among the 145 households in the village of
Motulahi in 1970 there were one-generation, two-generation,
three-generation, and four-generation households;
households with from one to seven family groups; and
households with family groups linked by the tie between
parents and daughter, others linked by the tie between
parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister
[602] and sister, and so on. Not only is there this diversity
[579] of household types, but there are also seemingly different
[794] forms of kin-groups and voluntary associations and a number
of different religious denominations, all in the same
village.

b. The statistical distributions of these variations is
182 not uniform from one village to the next. For example,
621 each of the three Methodist denominations in Tonga has a
794 church in Motulahi, while the village adjoining Motulahi
has only one Methodist church. But whereas the adjoining
village has a large Roman Catholic population and has a
Roman Catholic church, there is no Roman Catholic church
in Motulahi; instead, the few Roman Catholics in Motulahi

182 sense to me. And, as time went by, I learned that besides
621 switching denominational affiliation, people may shift
their household membership, their kin-group affiliation,
and their membership in various other local groups.

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121 If one approaches the Tongan data with assumptions
of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing, the
variability of local organization at the local level
makes Tongan society appear to be in a formless state of
continual flux. Besides this, another preconception that
may be brought to the Tongan data and may contribute to
the appearance of formlessness is the assumption that in
a rural agricultural setting there is a recognizable local
community. It should be noted, however, that throughout
the dissertation I speak of 'local organization' rather
[361] than 'village organization'. This is because the village
is not a significant unit of organization in Tongan
society. The question of 'what is a community?' and
whether the locale of the anthropologist's investigation
is properly called a community crops up repeatedly,
particularly in urban studies (Epstein 1964a, Mitchell
1969, Leeds 1973). Nevertheless, one still encounters the
assumption that a village, viewed as a social unit, is a
residentially-based grouping of persons, the aggregate of
whose multiplex relationships is such that the village

182 constitutes a separable sub-system within a larger system.
621 Certainly, I held this assumption for the first few months
121 of my research and, accordingly, sought to discover the
"basis" for the presumed cohesion of the village-community.
In the light of the Tongan data, it is clear that I had
621 made a number of unfounded assumptions. The fact is that
from the point of view of local organization in Tonga the
village as such has little significance; it neither
functions as a political group nor is there any other
group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants
of the village.

121 The materials that have been presented above give
621 rise to the following questions:
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1. Given the absence of overarching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?
2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?
3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?
4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

121 The kind of explanation put forward in answering these questions is not of the sort that philosophers of science call a 'covering law'; that is, I am not arguing

for some general theory from which the variability of local organization could be deduced. My aim, rather, is to put forward an explanation which renders the seeming formlessness of local organization in Tonga intelligible.[4]

Analytic Orientations

The ethnographic materials presented in this dissertation delineate a neglected dimension--the local level--of a society that itself is not well known. In speaking of 'levels of organization', I do not intend to refer by implication to Steward's concept of 'levels of integration' (1955). Instead, what I mean to imply is a marrying of what some political anthropologists speak of as an 'arena' or 'field' of activity (Swartz 1968: 9-10) and Firth's concept of organization as the "arrangement of elements of action into a system by limitation of their social relations in reference to given ends as conceived by the actors" (1964: 62). I might have spoken of 'arenas of organization'. However, I prefer to use the idiom of 'levels of organization' to indicate that the domain of activity is not to be regarded as self-contained, that actors and activities beyond that level are at times vitally and directly involved in processes pertaining to the groups and activities under consideration. This follows Swartz's usage (1968: 1) where he distinguishes between 'local politics' and 'local-level politics'. 121

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[4] This notion of explanation extends back to Aristotle. For modern statements, see Achinstein (1971) and Dray (1957).

As we have seen, the Tongan data direct attention to certain general issues in the anthropological analysis of intra-societal variability. In the final chapter of the [128] dissertation I consider these data in cross-cultural perspective. At this point, my concern is with the methodological problems involved in analyzing the Tongan data. These problems have been approached most instructively, in my view, under the heading of the question of 'loose structure', and in some of the treatment of 'optative' forms of social structure.

The term 'loose structure' was introduced into the anthropological literature by John Embree (1950), when he characterized Thailand as having a 'loosely structured social system'. Embree was concerned with

> . . . the question of relative integration of a culture in terms of a loosely as against closely woven social structure; loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation in individual behavior is sanctioned . . . [in contrast with] more tightly woven cultures--that is, cultures whose patterns are clearly marked and which emphasize the importance of observing reciprocal rights and duties in various situations to a greater degree than is to be found among the Thai (1950: 182).

Although various writers have pointed out that Embree's concept was loosely defined, others have made serious efforts to develop the concept. Thus, in one of the first papers to build on Embree's notion, Ryan and Strauss proposed the following definition (1954: 199):

> A society, its institutions, and consequently the behavior of the participants, may be termed "loosely structured" when:
>
> A. Norms are expressed with a wide range of alternative channels of conformity, frequently being implicit statements of principle around which individualized definitions of conformity are acceptable within broad and inexact boundaries.
>
> B. Behavior which goes beyond the acknowledged sphere of the normative is condoned or tolerated without the need for rationalization to competing or conflicting norms except in so far as the value of tolerance may be considered normative.
>
> C. Values of group organization, formality, permanence, durability and solidarity are undeveloped, giving group life the character of informal, unstable, and ill-defined associations in which group roles are subordinated to the individual ends of the participants.

More recently, in attempting to clarify the definition and applicability of the concept, Evers (1969b) has written:

> "Looseness" could mean:
>
> (1) only a small number of unprecise or alternative prescriptions for social action are perceived and known,
>
> (2) beliefs are widespread that prescriptions for action or "folk models" of social structure are not binding and must not necessarily be implemented,
>
> (3) there is a low frequency of the same type of behavior in similar social situations (p. 117).
>
> . . . The structure of social systems is described in models. Members of a society have their own models of their social system consisting of perceptions and prescriptions of behavior. . . . Folk models can be more or less strictly or loosely perceived: the more numerous and precise the prescriptions of the model, the "stricter" its structure.
>
> Social scientists can base their model . . . either on the [perceptive-normative] model or on observed or measured frequencies of behavior. The latter method yields a statistical model which also can be more or less strictly or loosely structured: the higher the

> frequency of certain types of behavior, the "stricter" the system.
>
> The strictness or looseness of the [perceptive-normative] or the [behavioral-statistical] model can vary over time and from society to society. There is also no compelling reason to assume that [both] models must be equally strict or loose for the same society (p. 119).

To the best of my knowledge, only Evers has explicitly distinguished between cultural principles and observed behavior in connection with the loose-tight variable. As we shall see below, most writers have simply taken Embree's characterization of Thailand as having "a culture in which considerable variation in individual behavior is sanctioned" to be the basis for the characterization of loose structure, and then proceed to give this their own construction.

Pelto (1968) has pointed out that Embree was not the first to delineate the contrast between "loose" and "tight" societies.[5] It is in the literature on Thailand, however, that the concept of loose structure has received most careful attention, culminating in a symposium on this topic in 1968, followed by a volume of papers enlarging on those presented in the symposium (Evers 1969a). A reading of this volume and some of the related literature shows that the concept of loose structure has been understood in quite different ways. In the first instance, it has been used to characterize the socio-cultural system as a whole. This is the way that Embree seems to have applied the term, and this sense of the term has subsequently been applied to the Thai data by other anthropologists such as Hanks (1962) and Phillips (1965). In evaluating this usage in the literature on Thailand, Mulder makes the following comment:

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[5] For example, Benedict (1934) contrasted the 'Appolonian' culture of the Southwestern Pueblos with the 'Dionysian' tendencies of the surrounding peoples, a contrast adapted from Nietzsche's examination of Greek drama.

> We have to look for the concept's development in the writings of those scholars . . . whose work appears to be based less on empirial findings than on speculative impressions about the Thai social system. To them "loose structure" is not so much a realistic portrayal of structure in a strict sociological sense as a qualitative description of Thai behavior (1969: 18).

Mulder points out that not all elements of Thai society are equally loosely structured; some elements are tightly structured, and "there may be a host of non-ascriptive structural principles operating at the [village] level" (1967: 275). Similarly, Potter devotes more than a third of his recent book on Thai peasant social structure to arguing that "in rural Thailand, eleven structural elements may be seen to generate rural communities" (1976: 149). Taking a different tack, others who have evaluated the concept of loose structure stress the problem of selectivity in specifying the features that characterize loose structure and related difficulties in applying the concept in the comparative analysis of social systems (Kirsch 1969, Cunningham 1969, Pelto 1968, Ryan and Strauss 1954).

In responding to these criticisms, Phillips defends the use of the concept, pointing out that it is "a descriptive generalization and, like all descriptive generalizations, has limited empirical reference. . . . To my knowledge, nobody--Embree, Sharp, the Hanks, or myself--has ever characterized Thailand as loosely structured in a 'total' or 'blanket' way" (1969: 27-28). Phillips' argument is that "the primary value of the 'loose structure' concept is not that it encompasses all dimensions of social action but rather that it forces us to examine the reality and stability of our essentially static structural models" (1969: 38). Thus, he argues against others' objection that the notion of loose structure says little about structural principles as such or about the structure of Thai society:

> If our interests were merely the study of the structural principles of Thai society, we could not possibly disagree with this position. However, I must argue that ultimately our concern is not and should not be structural analysis but rather the study of the behavior of Thai peasants: how they act, how they deal with and feel toward one another, and what they give to and derive from such dealings. To me, social structural principles are merely constructs abstracted from the stream of behavior which may aid in understanding such behavior. . . . Mere existence of an institution says little about the behavior of people in it, toward it, or away from it. The fact that 59 percent of the adult village men have never become monks is not a mere epiphenomenon nor an artifact that can be explained away by such social science cant as "patterned deviation from the norm". If we are interested in behavior and not merely in abstract structural principles, it obviously is just as important, perhaps even more important, to know why village men do not become monks as to know why they do. . . . What I am suggesting is

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> that although these issues refer to nonparticipation in a cultural form or abdication of an institutional responsibility they also concern actual behavior, and as such they are just as significant to our understanding of Thai village life as is the existence, in the first instance, of the cultural form. Frankly, I do not think that by itself the concept of "loose structure" helps us very much in dealing with these specific issues. However, by sensitizing us to the fact that in some areas "considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned" in Thailand, it does lead us to recognize the relevance of these questions and to begin to answer them. . . . An overweening or exclusive concern with structural principles, structural analysis, or institutional forms without consideration, as is typically the case, of the magnitude and meaning of variation is simply to deny the behavioral reality of Thai peasant society (1969: 26-27).

Kirsch develops this argument, pointing out that

> . . . unlike the tightly structured situation for which conventional [social structural] theory was adequate, the residual element in the Thai case could not conveniently be explained away as idiosyncratic individual variation . . . precisely because it was institutionalized, socially sanctioned and culturally defined, and because it very clearly had social relevance (1969: 56).

For him this leads to "investigation of how the 'person' as an actor is articulated with his society" (1969: 59), involving the interpenetration of social, cultural, and psychological systems.

There is little disagreement among the contributors to the Evers volume about the ethnographic facts about Thailand to which their arguments refer; they disagree over the frame of analysis for interpreting the data. Those who reject the concept of loose structure (e.g., Mulder) tend to treat social relations in terms of group membership.

In doing this, they ignore the central problem identified by Kirsch: the relationship between the individual and 'the social structure'. On the other hand, the work of those who focus on this problem--notably Phillips (1963, 1965, 1967) and Piker (1968a, 1968b)--tends to be merely descriptive, with apparently little attempt made to search for regularity within the range of variation that is being described. Thus, the methodological problem is to find a structural approach that does not treat variability as a matter of residual patterns. 121

Analysis of some of the data presented in this dissertation exemplifies such an approach. This is a relatively new approach in the study of social structure, one that is concerned with the alternatives available to ordinary members of society, the constraints that affect their decisions in relation to these alternatives, and the patterns of choice that result because some alternatives are less attractive than others.[6] This kind of approach is known as the 'decision (or decision-making) approach to social structure'--a misleading label, since structural analyses accomplished by anthropologists using the approach have generally included little discussion of the processes by which people arrive at decisions, nothwithstanding the statements of decision theorists (Barth 1966, Fjellman 1976, Howard and Ortiz 1971, Quinn 1975) that a decision-making approach requires consideration of these processes. 121

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[6] I say "less attractive" because decision theorists point out that people normally satisfice rather than maximize (Fjellman 1976: 35).

The decision-making approach to the analysis of social structure is particularly useful in dealing with the problem of intra-societal variation because it directs attention to the fact of variability in the conditions and circumstances under which people make decisions about the ordering of their lives. The observable product of this decision-making can be viewed as a pattern of adaptive strategies. In speaking of 'adaptations', I use the term primarily in the Whittens' sense of "the concept of individual and group maneuver within cultural, ecological, and social structural constraints" (Whitten and Whitten 1972: 251). This maneuvering also exhibits adaptations in Bennett's sense of "the patterns formed by the many separate adjustments that people devise in order to obtain and use resources and to solve the immediate problems confronting them" (1969: 14). Both senses of 'adaptation' come into play in the decision-making approach to the analysis of variability in social structure. As Alan Howard expresses it:

> The central idea behind decision-making analysis . . . is an attempt to register and understand the full range of considerations used by . . . people when making decisions, and then to show how these combine to generate predictable behavioral performances (1970: 367-368).

Howard gives a fair statement of the approach. It would probably be generally accepted by those who use the approach except for reservations that some might have about his reference to 'predictable behavioral performances'. As Keesing points out, the goal of decision-making analysis need not be prediction: 121

> Our model, [even] if fully developed, would not "predict" the exact composition . . . Rather, we are trying to achieve a description that allows us to replicate, as much as possible, the expectations of our subjects. This will allow us to be surprised when they are surprised, and to render intelligible deviations from the expected pattern (1967: 14).

The decision-making approach described above is part of a growing tradition in anthropology that focuses on the adaptive behavior of people at the local level and which emphasizes the relationship between environmental and cognitive components of socio-cultural systems (Barth 1966, 1967, Bennett 1969, 1976, Erasmus 1961, Firth 1963, 1964, Goodenough 1970, and Leach 1961). Implicit in this kind of orientation is the view that diversity and changeability within a society, rather than being a matter of residual patterns, are to be expected as by-products of on-going processes of adaptation. Barth, for example, makes the following observation:

> What people do is also significantly constrained by circumstance: a whole range of facts of life, mainly ecological, enters as components because people's allocations are adjusted and adapted in terms of what they experience as the observed outcomes of their behavior. The strategic constraints of social life also enter and affect behavior (1967: 665).

In its emphasis on the adaptive behavior of ordinary people at the local level, the decision-making approach to structural variability differs significantly from the dominant anthropological approach to decision-making. The latter, which derives primarily from the work of some political anthropologists, generally focuses on leaders' decision-making and tends to ignore the decision-making of those who are not in the upper strata of the political hierarchy. For example, in Stratagems and Spoils: A Social Anthropology of Politics (1969), Bailey contrasts decision-making situations that vary along a continuum which ranges from those decisions "which arise as instant responses to an emergency, in which it is important for the leader to ensure that action is initiated quickly", to those that are "entirely consensual", of which he says that "it is, indeed, difficult to think of . . . as being the occasion for a decision at all" (1969: 67-68). It seems that for Bailey the decision-maker is a leader, almost as a matter of definition. He appears not to recognize that this view is perhaps a result of the fact that the kinds of decisions he emphasizes--those that provide directives for group action--are those that only a leader would make, and that he says little about other types of decision involved in political behavior. Yet his definition of 'decision' does not apply only to leadership-type decisions involving directives for group action but to all situations in which actual behavior is not prescribed:

> Decisions are called for in conditions of uncertainty: when no rules can be found to guide action or where there are several possible rules and a choice has to be made between them (Bailey 1969: 70).

While Bailey treats decision-making as an attribute of leadership, the analysis of decision-making in relation to optative forms of social structure is less elite-oriented. According to this frame of analysis, significant decision-making is not limited to the decisions of leadership; it is a fact of life and not the domain of only a few individuals. Quinn describes the emergence of this approach:

> "Jural" models assumed that persons in kin-based societies were constrained to membership in designated kin groups by force of custom, law, or ideology. This assumption was simplistic and inadequate . . . Another trend emerged and grew to fill this explanatory vacuum: a focus on the individual as the analytic unit out of which kin groups are composed. This approach adopts a view of human behavior as responsive to self-interest rather than obedient to societal norms and treats kin-group composition as a by-product of individual decisions, based on considerations of self-interest, to join or leave such groups (1975: 20-21).

Not surprisingly, the decision-making approach to social structural variation has grown out of the study of non-unilinear descent systems, where the ubiquity of decision-making is so evident (Barnes 1962, Coult 1964, Quinn 1975). Indeed, the term 'optative' was introduced by Firth in distinguishing "between descent-group systems which do not allow choice in affiliation as regards membership through male and female, and those which do" (1957: 4). 121

Terms like 'optative' and 'optation' characterize flexibility in affiliation and changeability in membership not only with reference to non-unilinear descent groups. Van Velsen, who studied optative elements of structure in a matrilineal society, defines what he calls the 'process of optation' in the following terms:

> Selection by an individual in any one situation from a variety of possible relationships . . . those relationships which they consider will serve their aims better. The particular relationships and norms selected are likely to vary in regard to the same individuals from one situation to another and in regard to similar situations from one individual to another (1967: 142-143).

The variability that Van Velsen speaks of is similar to what has been characterized in the literature on Thailand as the 'looseness' of 'loose structure'. Clearly, the process of optation does not apply only to matters of descent. There are studies of social structure that focus on optative elements in matters of adoption (Howard 1970, Keesing 1970, Monberg 1970), residence (Goodenough 1956, Leach 1961, Pehrson 1954), marriage (Horowitz 1967, Leach 1951, 1961, Ogan 1966) and divorce (Gibbs 1963), as well as optative elements in the formation of certain short-lived single-purpose 'activity groups' (Howard 1963, Keesing 1967). Much of this dissertation is concerned with optative [128] elements of social structure at the local level of Tongan

society, including matters of household composition, kin- 121
group affiliation, denominational affiliation, residence, 128
and participation in various local activities.

Synopsis

Following this introductory chapter comes a chapter 128 dealing with certain aspects of the national context of local organization in Tonga. The chapter deals mainly with the fact of increasing population pressure and with the statutory basis of the Tongan system of land tenure, since it is my argument in later chapters that access to land is a major limiting factor that may critically affect the alternatives available to the individual in Tonga. The chapter also includes a discussion of some of the criteria of variation and the range of diversity among Tongan villages, providing a comparative perspective for viewing the particular village in which most of the detailed ethnographic data were collected.

In Chapter III the discussion becomes centered on the village of Motulahi and on people and events associated with the village. The events span a period of about seventy years and illuminate the relationship between the formal features of the system of land tenure and some of the processes involved in acquiring access to land. We also see how this is affected by increasing population and by inter-island migration. The chapter includes a demo-

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL SETTING

Since Tonga is little known, the national context of the data presented in this dissertation must be indicated. It is my argument in later chapters that access to land is a limiting factor that may critically affect the range of alternatives available to the individual. Accordingly, this chapter describes the contemporary situation of increasing population and growing shortage of land, followed by an historical account of the system of land tenure. The chapter also provides a further perspective on the particular village in which research was based through a review of criteria of differentiation among Tongan villages. 121 128

Geography and Natural Environment

The islands of Tonga lie east of Fiji and south of Samoa in the southwest Pacific, between 15° and 23.5° South latitude and 173° to 177° West longitude (see Map 1). The northernmost island of Niuafo'ou is over 500 miles from the southernmost island, Ata. There are about 150 named islands, but only thirty-six of the islands were inhabited at the time of the last census, held in 1966 (Fiefia 1968: 38). 131 101 131 162

of land suitable for cultivation as amounting to 92,447 311
acres, approximately 60% of the total land area (Great 161
Britain 1965: 21), and it is unlikely that arable land can 241 [134]
be increased significantly. This means that higher yields
of subsistence crops are required from existing acreage if
the extent of land under cash crops is not to be reduced,
and geographers have already documented changing patterns
of land use and cultivation in Tonga (Maude 1970, 1973;
Thaman 1976).

The question arises whether there is a shortage of 423
land. 'Land shortage', however, is not something that can 121
directly and unequivocably be infered from figures on
population density. Rather, it implies a scarcity of land
to meet local needs given the available technology, and
varies with the definition given to 'scarcity' and 'local
needs' as well as being dependent upon practices of land
use and the level of technology. In the case of Tonga,
however, the definitional problem falls away, for there is
a readily available index of land shortage. According to 423
Tongan law, every Tongan male aged sixteen and over is [651]
liable for an annual poll-tax, and every poll-tax payer is
entitled to an allotment of agricultural land measuring
100 fathoms by 100 fathoms (approximately 8¼ acres).
Whether there is sufficient land to provide these allotments [162]
can be taken as a criterion of whether or not there is a
shortage of land, and by this criterion there is a definite

was completed. 000

The steps leading up to the proclamation of the Act 423
of 1882 have been set out here in some detail because this
is the Act whose basic provisions have remained in force
to this day. The Land Act of 1927 brought up to date the
Act of 1882 and subsequent legislation (Kayacakalou 1959).
There have since been minor amendments, but none of these
have affected the main features of the Act of 1882 (Wylie
1967). These laws provide that every Tongan male aged
sixteen and over is entitled to a residential allotment
('api kolo) of two-fifths of an acre and an agricultural
allotment ('api 'uta) of eight and a quarter acres. Once 423
an allotment has been granted, the tofia owner may not 425
dispossess an allotment holder under any circumstances.
Allotments are vested in the individual allotment holder [428]
and are heritable in the male line. Any other form of
disposal of an allotment is forbidden.

This, then, is the historical background to the
Tongan system of land tenure. My purpose has been to 423 [121]
indicate how those provisions of the system of land tenure
that affect access to land by ordinary Tongans living in
villages came to be the way they are. It must be noted, [565]
however, that the system of land tenure--while certainly
it has local manifestations--is essentially a societal or
national-level system, and is bound up with the new system

182 621 on a government estate or a noble's estate (and, if it is a noble's estate, whether the noble is resident in the village), what schools are available, what modes of transportation are available, and so on.

114 I began to recognize the variety of local conditions in Tonga and the fact of variability from one village to the next within the first month of beginning fieldwork, after taking a week's boat-trip among the islands of Ha'apai. There I had the opportunity to observe a considerable range of ecological and demographic settings, in addition to what I had already seen and learned of the 121 diversity on Tongatapu. As I began to appreciate the variability of Tongan society at the local level, it became clear that I ought to conduct my research in a village that embraced as much as possible of this diversity. The following is an extract from my first report from the field, written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga, setting out the factors that were prompting me to select the village of Motulahi as my research base:

> It seems to me that (a) I should be on Tongatapu, (b) outside Nuku'alofa and its immediate fringing villages, in a village (c) sufficiently close to Nuku'alofa that students at secondary schools would live at home rather than reside with relatives in town, and (d) sufficiently large that there would be more than one school and more than one or two individuals with different bases of power within the same village. . . .
>
> 121 621 The place I have chosen is the village of Motulahi, which combines a number of interesting features: (1) the village is only 5-6 miles (15 minutes by bus) outside of Nuku'alofa. A number of persons work in

> 121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
> 621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
> (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages
> [872] . . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them
> [873] they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate
> school, and four primary schools. Children from one
> village attend the school run by a particular church
> [794] in another. Attendance at church and church membership also cuts across village affiliation.
> (3) The villages constitute an interesting political contrast, in that two of them are on government land and two on noble's land, one of which is at present headless because there is a vacant title with little probability of an heir.
> Possibly, this village will provide me with something of a cross section of Tongan society outside
> [184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware that more remote villages (which are usually considerably smaller and, by definition, would be less technologically sophisticated and have less interaction with the capital) may be organized very differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of that at this time, and will therefore not concern myself with that problem until it becomes a real question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly
unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122, making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed, the aggregate population of villages that had more than seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF MOTULAHI

361 178 Villages in Tonga are the cumulative product of historic events and subsequent individual and group adaptations. Thus, compact settlements came about during the period of civil war, and then the separation between kolo (town) and 'uta (bush) became standardized through legislation. Other features that make up the look of Tongan villages, such as the relative proximity of the houses, are the result of ongoing processes of population growth and increasing pressure on land resources.

121 As we have seen in the preceeding chapter, there may be some danger in generalizing from the village of Motulahi to other villages. Nevertheless, data on local organization collected in Motulahi are not representative only of the people of Motulahi. Goodenough points out that "the same cultural principles can produce statistically different outputs in different circumstances" (1970: 57). In presenting data from Motulahi, my aim is to show how Tongan cultural principles have shaped the way in which people now living in Motulahi have dealt with the circumstances in which they found themselves.

000lantern or a Coleman lamp.

361 In addition to town allotments, the residential
[368] sector of the village includes three churches, a government-
[312] owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a
malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open
[366] space between the noble's house and the main road. Except
[368] for the churches, the only non-residential structures in
[743] the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a
corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds,
and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the
malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting
[871] nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served
[764] by four schools and three burial sites or cemetries, all
[368] of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the
[366] residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops,
[368] Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches
and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

128 The following data, which portray the history of
121 settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national
statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu.
These materials also indicate something of the operation
of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation
of the system is an integral part of the relationship
between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

125 lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations
166 by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating
the population present at that date. This suits their
purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary
solution to the problem of ethnographic description (Colson
121 1954, Carroll 1975). In considering how to deal with this,
621 I realized that population flux is not a difficulty that
gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of
[128] proper description of local organization in Tonga. This
view is expanded and explored in the next chapter, in the
621 analysis of household composition. For the present purpose
125 of presenting a demographic profile of the village, I am
taking the population of Motulahi to be the sum of the
people who were enumerated in the course of the house-to-house survey. People not living in a household at the time
it was surveyed are not included here; to include them
would inflate the population total and distort the age-sex
proportions, since young adults are more mobile residentially than other sectors of the population.

162 According to this enumeration, Motulahi had 1,192
621 inhabitants in the early part of 1970, of whom 617 were
male and 575 were female (see Table 7). A percentage
breakdown of village population according to ten-year age
categories indicates that more than half the population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 92]

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION

114 The ethnographies of Oceanic societies commonly note that the composition of a household may vary from time to [592] time. This observation is also true for Tonga. The diversity and changeable nature of the composition of household groups in Oceania have received little attention from anthropologists. These phenomena are usually mentioned in the context of studies of the local descent groups that are the typical land-holding groups in Oceania, or treated as secondary aspects of ecological adaptation. 128 A close study of household composition, however, promises to be particularly revealing of elements of decision and choice in the organization of Tongan society at the local level.[1] This chapter analyzes Tongan household structure in terms of a decision-making framework.

121 It will be argued that the observed range of variation in household composition in Motulahi is a reflection of the different ways of satisfying the material and social

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[1] The productiveness of this approach was first demonstrated by Goodenough (1956) and received further exposition in Leach (1961). Also see Buchler and Selby (1968: 49-52).

121 demands upon the persons who make up each household. The first part of the chapter describes the diversity of household types in Motulahi and the changeability of membership, delineating the problem of variability in household [128] structure. The remainder of the chapter presents the argument explaining this variability, setting out the factors that account for the diversity and changeability of households found in Motulahi.

The Problem of Variability in Household Structure

592 The English term 'household' has no direct equivalent in Tongan. The Tongan word "*'api*", meaning a tract of land with a particular kind of use, is the word that is generally used where we would use the term 'household'. The primary referent of "*'api*" is the land. However, by extension in the case of "*'api kolo*" (town allotment) it also refers to the residential-commensal group of people living on the land. This group is the foremost unit of domestic organization in Tonga.

121 It might be thought that the way to go about analyzing the domestic sphere of organization is first to give a definition of 'household' and 'family' and then proceed to examine domestic organization in accordance with these definitions. Such an approach has two deficiencies in relation to the Tongan data. First, it

121 reflects a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure in which the group is logically prior to the individual member. Second, such an approach presupposes a uniformity of group structure that is not found in the Tongan data. Instead of this approach, I propose to follow Goody's advice: "In looking at any concrete situation, one must start with the terminology and classificatory system of the actors themselves, how they describe their kin, their houses, their domestic groupings" (1972: 4).

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596
The Tongan national census distinguishes among Tongan households on the basis of the number of 'family units' in the household:

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders and visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. In addition to these, widowed or divorced persons living with their offspring in another's house constitute a family unit. Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit, and aged parents of either the head or his wife, who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit (Fiefia 1968: 32).

According to this definition, households are made up of 'family units', and these consist of 'family groups' plus attached individuals (the servants, boarders, and visitors

592 As we shall see later in the chapter, there is no
consensus on the composition of the ideal household;
instead, what is viewed as desirable varies according to
[121] the speaker's social situation. Statistical description
of household types, which has been productive for the
analysis of household structure in other societies (Fortes
1949, Leach 1961, Barnes 1971) also proved unillumina-
ting in revealing patterns of household composition in
Motulahi. The difficulty in trying to make statistical
sense of the data is not that clear types did not emerge,
but that there seemed to be too many types.

[594] Most Tongans would probably say that normally or
ordinarily a household consists of a single family group
--that is, a married couple and one or more of their
unmarried children. The majority of households do not
592 conform to this pattern, however. Among the 145 households
621 in Motulahi enumerated by me in 1970, only 52 (36 percent)
596 [594] consisted of just a single family group of one or both
parents and their unmarried children. Among the others
there were households with from one to seven family
groups, as well as non-kin households (see Table 11).
Cutting across these variations, almost half the households
in the village had one or more attached individuals (that
is, persons who are not part of one of the family groups
in the household).

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parent/s-daughter tie would seem to call for some explanation, there was no obvious connection between this pattern and the stated norms of intra-family behavior.

[121] The model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups--about which Buchler and Selby note: "this dynamic, diachronic point of view . . . has become implicit in most analyses of household composition" (1968: 53)--also failed to reveal clear principles of household structure in Motulahi. To be sure, the developmental cycle seemed to be a factor in the composition of some households. However, the model by itself did not account for the actual composition of Motulahi households, nor was it clear why some households seemed to follow the pattern of a developmental cycle and others did not. Furthermore, given the diversity of household composition in Motulahi, deviations from the model of the developmental cycle could not be viewed simply as residual cases. Instead, an explanation of household structure in Tonga would have to account for the observed diversity.

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It seems to me now, that as long as I was disposed to view household composition primarily in terms of role occupancy and collectivity membership, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Tongan household composition is more profitably viewed as the outcome of

[592 128] different ways of fulfilling certain demands upon the individuals and family groups that make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands accounts for the diversity of household types. It is also the core of the explanation for fluctuations in composition [121] and changeability in household membership. This, it is clear, is a view of household structure which follows Leach's position that "social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (1960: 124). Membership in the household allows the individual or family group access to resources that provide for culturally-defined essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. [591] Individuals and family groups may shift their place of residence, not only from village to village but sometimes from household to household within the village. Despite this fluidity, however, a Tongan household is an easily definable group at any one time with a fairly constant range of activities. These activities are primarily concerned with the production and consumption of food and are associated with the sharing of a common kitchen.[5]

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[5] These elements in the definition of household activities come into play in differentiating among house-

Summary

128 The account given in this chapter presents a description of processes of household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in household membership. This description provides a frame of analysis that enables us to account for the observed composition of village households and which makes the diversity and changeability of household composition intelligible.

592 The diversity of household composition among the people of Motulahi reflects the diversity of circumstances faced by people in Tonga and the range of available adaptations. [423] Among the most pervasive of these circumstances is the increasing shortage of land, a factor which limits the range of residential alternatives available to the individual Tongan. 121 592 It has been my argument that the patterning of household composition in Motulahi is to be accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding kinship relations, but as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands upon the persons who make up each household, particularly when these demands are considered in relation to the resources available to the people involved. This is a dynamic process; as people's needs and resources change, they adjust their domestic arrangements. The statistical picture at any one time, therefore, is best understood as the cumulative

121 outcome of the adjustments people make to the circumstances
592 in which they find themselves, given the cultural principles that shape the way in which Tongans deal with these circumstances.

795 smaller proportion of Roman Catholics in the population as
162 a whole.

795
121 While the distribution of denominational affiliation in any one village must be regarded as the outcome of factors that are best understood in historical perspective, a description of denominational affiliation in a single village should serve to indicate what is involved in being a congregant and will therefore illuminate what it is I am talking about when I speak of Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership. Moreover, despite statistical variation in the distribution of denominational affiliation from one village to another, this description will indicate the local-level features of denominational multiplicity.

162 The village of Motulahi exhibits the deversity of
621 denominational affiliation that is characteristic of Tonga.
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794 The denominational affiliation of the adult population resident in Motulahi in the early part of 1970 is shown in Table 18. Each of the seven major denominations in Tonga had adherents in Motulahi. However, there can properly be said to be only five congregations in Motulahi (in the situation as it was in 1970), for the Anglican Church has only a single congregation on Tongatapu, based in Nuku'alofa, and the Seventh Day Adventists in Motulahi also belonged to a congregation based in Nuku'alofa (although occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

128 are seen in Chapters III and IV in relation to population growth, land tenure, and settlement, and in Chapter V in the discussion of denominational organization. What must be considered in this chapter is how local units are articulated with one another and with other units in the national whole.

Village and Community

121 The first question to be considered is: what is the
621 significance of the village in the organization of Tongan society? My argument is that the village as such is a unit of little significance.

621 According to Nayacakalou, "the strongest single
622 force binding the members of the village together is their common allegiance to their high chief" (1959: 100). However, this "allegiance" entails few duties and changes when the person moves to the village of a different chief. Thus, this element of political cohesion within the village generally amounts to little beyond the fact that the people live in the same village and their rents are paid to the
621 same noble.[2] In considering this kind of village organization, it must be understood that "one of the special factors

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[2] This is not to deny that in some cases villagers may have a strong sense of allegiance to their noble or chief and may perform certain services for him. But whether this is the case will depend on the persons involved and the circumstances of the relationship (see Chapter III).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Resolution of the Problem

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121 Materials presented in this dissertation deal with the problem of the variability of local organization in Tonga. At this point the diversity and changeability of elements of local organization in Tonga do not give the appearance of formlessness and flux, since the dissertation presents a description that gives order to the data. Such a description may give the illusion that the data are self-explanatory, leaving the reader wondering what it is that needed explanation. However, this is only because the description stems from an analysis that makes the data intelligible.

In the introductory chapter we saw that the problem of the variability of local organization in Tonga can be expressed in a series of questions. Chapters II through VI present an account of local organization in Tonga embodying materials required to answer these questions. Drawing on these materials, answers to the questions can be formulated as follows.

121 *1. Given the absence of over-arching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

621 This question is taken up in part in Chapter VI,
575 where we see that the local groupings described in earlier
181 chapters are not formally related to one another, nor is
121 182 there any structural unit co-ordinating their activities,
either at the local level or the national level. Viewed in terms of a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure, local organization in Tonga would seem to lack integration. However, materials presented in the dissertation indicate that the activities of the various local groups are articulated with one another by the highly reticulated cross-cutting relationships of their members; persons engaged with one another in one set of activities are associated with others in different sets of activities and the composition of these groupings is changeable. The organization of these relationships within the framework of households, fāmili, congregations, and other groupings found at the local level is described in Chapters IV and V.
121 As argued in analyzing these materials, the data relating to these groupings resist analysis in terms of role-behavior and group-membership. One solution might be available in network analysis, much of the development of which stems from similar methodological difficulties with

121 urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973). However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages formed by their associations as they engage in various activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza- of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather than use a network approach, in organizing the data from Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the
592 alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that
612 the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up
602 or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affiliations, and that this in turn affects the range of alterna-
621 tives available to him in other activities. It is through
575 the relation of these activity systems that the various
794 groups found at the local level are articulated with one
182 another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such
[181] differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose
[182] structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for
[794] example, that what matters in regard to religious
[771] affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is
[551] less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation.
[592] Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another,
[612] but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili
[575] groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally
121 delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible
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182 because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga
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121 and there are few prescriptions or directives from above
181/182 regarding memberships and affiliations. People can therefore
571 make the adaptations that best suit their particular
circumstances. Because people's particular circumstances are not the same, their adaptations are different, and thus we find structural differences among groupings of the same kind, such as differences in household composition. Similarly, the multiplicity of groupings (denominational multiplicity and the variety of voluntary associations) results from Tongans' welcoming new possibilities for making adaptations. The specific adaptations a person makes are affected by such factors as access to land, the person's rank, the people with whom he is associated, and the particular stratagems available to him. Thus, the diversity of social groupings at the local level, which at first may appear to be without pattern or explanation, is intelligible when subjected to a close examination of the diversity of circumstances in which people find themselves.

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?

Changes in memberships and affiliations are adaptations that individuals make to different circumstances. As villagers' circumstances change, they change their adaptations. Thus we see that, as children come of school age, parents seek to move the family to where the better

121 181 182 571 schools are located; at marriage, a woman is likely to switch to her husband's denomination; and when affiliation with a different fāmili affords the opportunity of access to needed resources, there may be a change in fāmili membership. That these changes are possible is further indication of the looseness of structure found at the local level of Tongan society.

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

Variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is merely a secondary manifestation of the variability of Tongan social organization at the local level. Certain features of a village--such as its location, amount of available land, whether it is a noble's estate and whether the noble is resident--may be significant circumstances affecting the adaptations of those who are associated with the village. 621 However, as we saw in Chapter VI, the village as such is not a significant social unit. My argument has been that the distribution of people's memberships and affiliations reflects the diversity of their adaptations. Thus, the distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is nothing more than a reflection of the particular distribution of the adaptations of its members; variation from one village to the next is epiphenomenal.

'Loose Structure' in Ethnological Perspective

121 181 182 571 I have argued in this dissertation that the diversity and changeability of elements of local organization in Tonga is not random but rather is explicable when considered in relation to the diverse and changing circumstances in which Tongan villagers find themselves and the looseness 128 of prescriptions for behavior in Tongan society. In this final section of the dissertation I wish to consider the concept of loose structure in broader perspective, not limited to the Tonga data.

121 Some critics of the concept of loose structure have rejected it on the grounds that recourse to explanation in terms of loose structure is tantamount to saying that there is no structure to the society or that the structure, such as it is, lacks stability or regularity. Thus, Potter writes that "many influential writers on Thailand have portrayed rural Thai society to the outside world as one strangely devoid of structure or form" (1976: 11). He challenges this "picture of Thailand as a society with a vague, shifting, unstable structure" (p. 7), and argues that the

> cumulative effect [of recent studies of rural Thai communities] shatters once and for all the loose-structure paradigm. . . . A reexamination of [earlier studies] reveals . . . basic structural elements found in all Thai villages to which, because of the loose-structure paradigm, these writers did not give sufficient weight (1976: 148).

Similarly, in criticizing the application of the concept of loose structure to the analysis of New Guinean societies, Pouwer argues that "the fundamental mistake . . . lies in the idea that the bilateral principle of kinship cannot produce a permanent, stable structure" (1960: 114), and Kaberry writes:

> Communities of this type in which there is a considerable degree of optation in affiliation are sometimes referred to as 'loosely structured', and, as such, 'unstable'. But in my view the phrase 'loosely structured' is a loose one, and I would agree with Pouwer that it seems to contain a terminological contradiction: 'incoherent coherence' (1967: 108).

These critics seem to assume that the existence of structural elements is incompatible with the notion of loose structure. However, this does not speak to the distinction between 'loose' and 'tight' societies. By definition, there are structural elements in all societies, but there are important differences between societies in the extent to which prescriptions for behavior are specified and/or variability in behavior is tolerated.

In analyzing a society in which a wide range of variation in behavior is tolerated, anthropologists have two alternatives: they can play down this diversity and "get on with the job of describing 'social structure' and 'typical' cultural patterning" (Pelto and Pelto 1975: 1), or they can confront the fact of diversity and examine its significance. In the second case, the data could be viewed

121 as exhibiting social disorganization or anomie, provided that there are ancilliary data to support this interpretation. However, mere diversity in itself does not warrant the characterization of anomie. In some societies, variability is a "normal" attribute of the social system. This point is cogently made by Evers:

> A discussion in terms of deviant behavior or anomie presupposes, however, a normal state of a clearly defined social structure from which behavior deviates or which temporarily disintegrates into anomie. We are not here concerned with these types of deviations in behavior but with variations in the "normal" structure of social systems and their perception. One social system might allow considerable individual variation of behavior which in another system would be regarded as "deviant" or anomic. . . . The looseness of the social structure and the frequency of deviant behavior are two different variables (1969b: 118).

Not even the most enthusiastic proponent of 'loose structure' has suggested that a society could be said to be loosely structured simpliciter. Instead, there is considerable agreement among proponents of the concept that some elements within a society may be more loosely or tightly structured than others and that, to the extent that societies as a whole are characterized in terms of the loose-tight variable, this would be a matter of characterization along a continuum rather than 'loose' or 'tight' in some absolute sense. However, there has been little comparison along a loose-tight continuum, except for Embree's somewhat impressionistic comparison between Thailand and other Asian countries, and a paper by Pelto (1968)

121 using a Guttman scalogram of structural features--ranging from "permanent recognized political control" through "theocracy"--to construct a continuum along the loose-tight variable. Papers focused on the comparison of pairs of societies are also few and far between. The only ones I know of compare elements of social organization in Thailand and Ceylon (Evers 1968, Ryan and Strauss 1954), and a paper comparing the Kpelle and the Azande (Gibbs 1962).

Undoubtedly, part of the reason for the absence of comparative studies is the problem of cross-cultural specification of the ethnographic features of loose structure. As we shall see below, loosely structured societies are found in widely different geographical and cultural settings, and at first glance the differences between them seem to preclude the possibility of meaningful comparison. As we have seen, many of the anthropologists working with the Thai data have found the loose structure concept useful. This is also true of a number of anthropologists who have worked with the New Guinea data, among them Brown (1962), du Toit (1962), and van der Leeden (1960). In other cases, anthropologists who make no mention of the concept of 'loose structure' have called attention to 'variability' and/or 'flexibility' being normal attributes of certain societies. These terms occur repeatedly in accounts of the Navajo (Aberle 1963, Levy 1962, Reynolds et al. 1967, Shepardson and Hammond 1966), 121 and in a number of Pacific and Australasian societies besides Tonga (Epstein 1964b, Geertz 1959, Goodenough 1956, Howard 1974, Leach 1961, Silverman 1971, Scheffler 1965, Vayda and Cook 1964). African societies that have been described in these terms include the Kpelle of Liberia (Gibbs 1962, 1963), the Kamba of Kenya (Oliver 1965, Fjellman 1976), and the Lakeside Tonga of Malawi (van Velsen 1964).

In some of the accounts of the New Guinean societies there is reference to the flexibility of social organization being an adaptation to geographical and ecological constraints, on the one hand, and the problem of population distribution, on the other. A similar explanation of the organization of descent groups in small island societies in Oceania is proposed by Goodenough (1955). There has also been considerable reference to Buddhist values being the ideological basis of loose structure in Thailand. Obviously, however plausible these explanations, the same one is not being used to account for loose structure in both New Guinea and Thailand. In his paper on the differences between 'tight' and 'loose' societies, Pelto proposes a more general explanation:

> My research suggests that there are at least three elements that may help to account for the differences between tight and loose societies: differences in kinship systems, differences in degree of dependence on food crops, and differences in population density per square mile. . . .

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> Kinship systems may be classified broadly as either unilineal or bilateral. . . . Among preliterate societies it appears that unilineal systems predominate in tight ones, and bilateral systems in loose ones. The Hutterite and kibbutz cases suggest that, at least in modern "enclave societies", non-kin principles of organization override or replace those of kinship, as far as relative tightness is concerned.
> High reliance on food crops may be another source of the tight structure. Growing and harvesting crops on a large scale requires teamwork, and rigid organization may be needed to mobilize and direct the people's efforts toward the common goal of an abundant harvest. Although my findings . . . are still tentative, a preliminary examination does suggest that tight and middle-range societies rely heavily on the harvest, while the people of loose societies tend to subsist by other means--for example, by herding or by hunting.
> Clearly, population density is related to tightness in the social structure. In general, it seems that the more people there are in a small area, the more rigid social structure they need to keep them functioning cooperatively, with a minimum of discord and friction (1968: 40).

In the light of data from the societies referred to above which have been characterized as 'variable' and 'flexible', Pelto's explanation does not seem persuasive. The first element, relating to differences in kinship systems, does not account for the differences between 'tight' and 'loose' societies with respect to the list of "concrete structural features of the social order" enumerated by Pelto in constructing his scalogram. The second correlation--reliance on food crops--is flatly contradicted by the fact that many of the societies that could be characterized as loosely structured are highly reliant on food crops. The third correlation--population density--is also not borne out by the evidence. However, Pelto's remarks about

121 the organization needed to harvest crops on a large scale and the rigid social structure needed in some areas to keep people functioning cooperatively are instructive and point in what I believe to be the right direction.

From my reading of the literature, a common element
in societies that have been described as loosely structured
is the absence of overarching organization at the local
level--there are no councils that coordinate the various
activities of diverse local groups and no chiefs with
wide-ranging authority over the people living under their
jurisdiction. In this dissertation we have noted the
absence of over-arching organization at the local level
of Tongan society. This element, moreover, is typical of
political organization in New Guinean societies, and is
a notable element of contrast between the African societies
described as loosely structured and neighboring more
121 tightly structured societies. It is also instructive to
171 note the contrast between Samoa and Tonga, the major
island groups in the Western Polynesia culture area. The
two have many social and cultural elements in common, but
are significantly different with respect to political
organization at the local level--see the contrast in the
institution of the fono, described in Chapter VI--and
also appear to differ on the variable of loose structure.
One cannot be sure that Samoan society is not loosely

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

12/ 17/ structured, since--except for accounts of the Samoan system of cognatic descent groups (see Ember 1962, Freeman 1964, Tiffany 1975)--it has not been described in terms relating to this variable. However, as Kirsch (1969) and others writing on the concept of loose structure have pointed out, anthropologists tend to remark on the phenomenon of loose structure while its absence is not noted.

12/ I suggest that a tentative explanation for the relationship between loose structure and the absence of overarching organization at the local level can be formulated as follows: since there is no overarching organization to monitor compliance with prescribed relationships among the various groups found at the local level, the individual has a notable measure of autonomy vis-a-vis these groups; he can move among them and adjust his relationships to each in the way that he finds most advantageous given his particular circumstances. Besides this, a related point to be considered is that considerable variation in individual behavior is possible where there is no overarching organization to enforce conformity with specific norms or prescriptions for behavior. Thus we find 'individualism' and 'individualistic behavior' being characteristic of societies where there is no overarching organization at the local level. Considerable variation in behavior is condoned, or at least tolerated, because--short of calling on higher

121 external authority--no social sanction can be brought to bear at the local level except public opinion. To be sure, in some matters the sanction of public opinion alone may be sufficient to produce strictly-structured behavior. However, the scope of this sanction tends to be limited. One thinks, for example, of the emphasis on personal and family honor in Meditteranean societies (Feristiany 1966) and the fact that in these societies a wide range of variation in behavior is tolerated as long as honor is upheld. As for control from above, we have noted that in Tonga there is little government intervention in the conduct of local affairs. I suggest that this is related to the absence of overarching organization in that implementation of directives from above is difficult where there is no local council or other coordinating authority to monitor individual compliance. In this regard, it is interesting to note that both Silverman, writing about the Banabans (1971: 207-208), and van Velsen, writing about the Lakeside Tonga (1964: 313), point to the relationship between the flexibility of social organization and the fact that--as in the Tonga Islands--local-level organization is not well-integrated with higher levels of authority.

I have just argued that loose structure is likely in the absence of overarching organization at the local level and have attempted to explain the relationship between

121 them. It might be objected that to speak of the absence of overarching organization is simply another way of speaking of loose structure, in that the absence of overarching organization at the local level is what is being described. That this is not correct, however, can be seen from the fact that the term 'loose structure' does not refer to particular structural features of the social order but to the patterning (or structure) of behavior--that is, to norms being expressed with a wide range of alternative channels of conformity and/or considerable variation in behavior being condoned or tolerated. Examination of the conditions--historical, environmental, or structural--that account for the absence of overarching organization at the local level would also serve to cast light on the phenomenon of loose structure. Such an approach could take us away from mere characterization of behavior and from the problem of cross-cultural specification of the ethnographic features constitutive of loose structure towards a more systematic treatment of differences between 'loose' and 'tight' societies.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

*Household Composition in the Tonga Islands: A Question of Options and Alternatives**

SHULAMIT R. DECKTOR KORN

The composition of households in Tonga (Western Polynesia) does not conform with ideal patterns, nor does the statistical description of household types reveal clear principles of household structure. Instead, Tongan household structure is most clearly understood within a decision-making framework as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the households, considered in relation to the resources available to them. This analysis directs attention to some of the conceptual problems associated with the use of terms like "option" and "choice" in constructing decision models for discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. 121 592 121

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF OCEANIC SOCIETIES commonly note that the composition of a household may change from one month to the next—an observation that is also true of household organization in the Tonga Islands of Western Polynesia. The chief concern of this paper is to demonstrate that the composition of Tongan households is best understood as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household, considered in relation to the resources available to them. A secondary concern, but one of more general significance, is to indicate some of the problems associated with the concept of choice in the construction of "decision models." [592]

Island societies provide special opportunities for studying "social forms and usages that help to get people to resources and resources to people" (Vayda and Rappaport 1963:137). Indeed, 20 years ago, Goodenough pointed out that some of the peculiar features of Malayo-Polynesian social organization are "admirably suited for keeping group membership balanced in relation to its immediate land resources" (1955:80-81). The most notable of these features are the optative character of land-holding groups and the prevalence of adoption, both of which are presently regarded by anthropologists as mechanisms for shifting people about in relation to the available resources. A third

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*Fieldwork on Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 to May 1970. The support of an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women is gratefully acknowledged, and I thank the Government of Tonga for permitting me to conduct fieldwork. [101] [122]

A short preliminary version of this paper was read at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, December 1973, and was subsequently presented in expanded form at the Symposium on Household Economic Strategies at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, Monterey, March 1974. The paper, in its various versions, has benefitted especially from the comments of Sharon Tiffany and Fred Korn. [113]

121 feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

101 [131] [195] [162] [161] [131] Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74 and 1777.[1]) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

361 162 Although there are only four centers of administration and commerce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797 [433] until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

592 [829] There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

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[177] [777] [648] [1] Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the British Commonwealth of Nations.

TABLE 4

Generation-span in Motulahi Households

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Type of Household	Generation-span in the Household				Total Households
	One	Two	Three	Four	
Single-person household	1	–	–	–	1
Two-person nonkin household	1	1	–	–	2
Single-family-unit household	3	74	16	–	93
Two family units in the household	–	8	24	–	32
Three family units in the household	–	–	10	5	15
More than three family units in the household	–	–	1	1	2
Total	5	83	51	6	145

592 linked by the tie between the family groups of the old parents and their
596 daughter, and others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister and sister, and so forth (see Table 5). The membership of these households ranged from one to 26 persons (see Fig. 1).

While in the field, I could make little sense of these data. Norms of
592 intra-family behavior in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoid-
114 ance and other patterns of respect, appeared to be irrelevant to
121 understanding the principles of household composition. Similarly, a statistical description of household types failed to reveal clear principles of household structure. The difficulty in trying to make sense of the data was not that clear types did not emerge, but rather that there seemed to be too many types. Furthermore, the model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups did not prove useful in explaining the diversity.

FLUCTUATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

In retrospect, it seems to me that as long as I viewed the household
592 as a stable or at least a regular entity, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Instead, the composition of households in Tonga is probably best understood as the outcome of different ways of fulfilling certain demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands is the major part of the explanation for the diversity of household types. This, it is clear, is a view of household composition which follows Firth's

would have provided a material basis for establishing their own 592
household someday.) Many of the three-generation households that are 596
based on the parents-daughter link between family units evolved in this 606
way, even though such a household is in many respects far from the 591
cultural ideal.

DISCUSSION: OPTIONS AND OPTATION

It has been my argument that household composition in Tonga is to 592
be accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding kinship, but 121
rather as the outcome of individuals' pursuit of prestige within the limitations of their social position and the resources available to them.[14] This is a dynamic process; as their needs and resources change, people are able to shift their household arrangements. Thus the patterning of household composition in Tonga is better regarded "as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (Leach 1960:124).

Keesing (1967) has pointed out, however, that statistical description 121
is difficult when variations in composition are extreme (a problem that was noted early in this paper), and that statistical outcomes themselves may vary widely under differing conditions (another point that applies to the statistical description of household composition in Tonga). He argues further that a model of the principles whereby decisions are made is more revealing than a statistical model, as well as being more powerful in accounting for the range of empirical data. A recent review article, which describes this approach as "the analysis of social structure in terms of the options open to members of a society," concludes that "decision models provide a new and convincing way to think about social structural variability" (Quinn 1975:22, 43).[15]

In this paper, I have presented a description of the processes of 592
household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in 121
household membership. The description specifies the criteria that enable us to predict whether a couple or individual are likely to establish a household of which he and/or she would be the head. More importantly, it provides an explanation that accounts retrodictively for

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[14] Of course, not only norms regarding kinship, but also the pursuit of prestige and the nature of the limitations upon it, are culturally conditioned.

[15] Except for reservations regarding the meaning of terms like "alternative courses" and "decisions," I would follow Keesing (1967) in conceiving "decision model" to denote "an ethnographic description that is actor-oriented and based on the categories of the culture under study," and whose minimal properties are

> . . . that it (1) defines the situation or context in a culturally meaningful way; (2) defines the range of culturally acceptable alternative courses of action in the situation; and provides either (3) a set of rules for making appropriate decisions under culturally possible combinations of circumstances, i.e., a model with determinate outcomes, or (4) a set of strategies for deciding among alternatives, i.e., a value-maximization model (Keesing 1967:2).

121 [592] the composition of any one household. This account might be called a "decision model," but I prefer to call it a "description" since it lacks the simplicity and elegance that I consider essential features of a model. In the description, I have tried to show how the statistical picture of household composition may be understood as the outcome of people's decisions in matters relating to household membership. However, I have not attempted to indicate a formal ordering of the principles for making decisions, since this would imply that people's priorities in making decisions could be understood apart from the circumstances under which actual decisions are made.

At this point, I wish to raise the question of the extent to which it is proper to use works like "option," "alternative," "decision," and "choice" in describing the diverse behavior of different people in a society.[16] A number of points emerge from consideration of this question.

First, in talking about optative features of social organization, one must be careful not to misrepresent the sense in which an individual can 121 592 554 be said to have made a choice. For example, when the head of a household in Tonga accepts another family group or attached individual into his household, he is choosing a particular stratagem in his quest for prestige (for there are other ways in which he might have deployed his resources). Although there is a question here of whether it is proper to use the word "choice" in describing the move that his new dependents have made, there is no question that the head of the household has made a choice that affects the structure and composition of this household. Nevertheless, the composition of the household was not the focus or objective of his decision making. In other words, it is one thing to say that household composition in Tonga is optative and that the patterning of household structure is the outcome of multiple individual choices, and it is quite another thing to say that in Tonga people choose the composition of the household in which they live. Household composition is usually a by-product of other decisions, and in that sense it is a dependent element, not something that is deliberately chosen.

121 592 591 Second, the kind of thinking that goes into a Tongan man's deciding to live in a particular village could be called "choosing" when he has a range of live options regarding the village in which he might live. In such cases, the choice of village is generally made on the basis of his weighing such factors as the relative availability of access to land, schooling for the children, and prospects for satisfactory social recognition—including the question of household status—in one village rather

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[16] This section of the paper reflects the influence on my thinking of the approach and philosophical techniques known as "ordinary-language" philosophy.

than another. It should be noted, however, that it is unlikely that he 121
would have more than a few villages from which to choose. In other 592
words, the range of options that a person may have is usually less than 591
the number of alternatives that are theoretically possible.

Third, once the decision regarding village of residence is made, the kind of household that a man sets up or enters is not always a matter of choice. The point here is that it is essential that we clearly understand what is meant in saying that a person "adopts" (or "chooses" or "opts for") an "alternative." We may well recognize that there are a number of different ways in which Tongan households are structured, and that there are no rules that specify household affiliation. We might therefore be inclined to say that the individual makes a choice regarding the household that he sets up or enters. But can we really say that a social system presents all men with the alternative of eating caviar, and that a poor man chooses instead to eat clam dip? I would argue that caviar is not a viable option for the poor man, and therefore that it is nonsense to speak of it being a matter of choice. Similarly, I would argue that a Tongan man without any other access to the means of providing for the material needs of his family is not making a choice when he decides to move in with a relative, for he has no real alternative.[17] Thus, in constructing decision models of social structure, it is essential that we distinguish between recognition by an observer that there is a set of various arrangements which are possible in that society, and whether, in fact, there is a range of alternatives open to a person who must act in a given situation. In other words, it does not follow from the fact that an element of social organization is optative that a person is in a position to make a real choice.

Finally, there is a more general point that underlies the preceding one: there is a difference between "making a decision" and "making a choice."[18] For example, when a young Tongan couple marries, they have to make a decision about where they are going to live, for it is not something that is prescribed. Nevertheless, after considering which arrangements (of all the various arrangements that are possible in the society) are available in their situation, it is quite likely that they might come to the conclusion that they have only one live option. Thus, even if a decision is required in a certain situation, there may be no choice—no real choice is made in a situation of "only one choice."

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[17] In theory, of course, he could choose to abandon his family or choose that they should live as scavengers, but those are definitely not culturally acceptable courses of action in that situation.

[18] This distinction is not recognized by Quinn, it seems. What she argues is that "the terms 'decision' and 'choice' are perhaps best reserved for selection among alternatives which requires some active evaluation and calculation on the part of the individual actor" (1975:41). She says nothing of any distinction between the terms, nor do Howard and Ortiz in their paper (1971) on the value of decision-making analysis for the anthropological study of social process.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 If we are to talk coherently about social organization, it is essential that there be no confusion about what is meant when we speak of options and alternatives. Failing that, the contemporary emphasis in anthropology on elements of choice and individual volition may become as exaggerated as the cultural determinism of a previous generation.

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TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

114 and that *ha'a* do not operate at the local level in modern Tonga.[9] To
[613] date, kinship in its rank aspects and kinship operating at the local level have
[61] not been dealt with together in one publication, except in passing, and it is extremely difficult for anyone not acquainted at first hand with the Tongan data either to understand the nature of the Tongan kinship system or to relate the different things various writers have to say about it. Part of the reason for this difficulty is that accounts of observations of contemporary affairs have been mingled with the traditions and history of
● 121 the past 300 years.[10] This paper, therefore, is concerned mainly with giving an account of the more important kinds of Tongan kin groups as they exist today and differentiating their scope of affairs, referring as much as possible to existing publications.

RANK AND KINSHIP AT THE SOCIETAL LEVEL

613 According to the anthropological literature, there are at least two quite
[612] different kinds of kin grouping in Tonga. One of these is the *ha'a*, which is a descent-based group that has been referred to by one writer as a "societal division"[11] and by most others either as a lineage or as a
612 ramage or status-lineage.[12] The other type of kin-group is a sort of kindred that has variously been identified as the *fa'ahinga* or *famili* or *matakali*.[13] I shall refer to it as the *famili*, which is the term I heard most commonly used.

613 Not everyone in Tonga is affiliated both with a *ha'a* and a *famili*. In
612 Goldman's words, "only the upper ranks can be said to belong to a
565 lineage organisation at all."[14] This does not mean that chief's kin groups are of the *ha'a* type while commoners' are of the *famili* type, for both commoners and chiefs are involved in the *famili* system; nor does it mean that chiefs and commoners are descended from different ancestors and
565 for that reason do not belong to the same descent groups. A commoner is simply "an individual who by virtue of descent through a series of younger brothers has in the course of generations become further and further removed,[15] geneologically speaking, from the chiefly persons
565 with whom he has ancestors in common. Thus, although the boundary between the chiefly class and the commoners is not precise, only persons
613 who are closely associated with high chiefly rank are involved in the *ha'a* system.

Nowadays, there are about 10 main *ha'a*. A *ha'a* is based on a grouping of chiefly titles, each of which is said to have originated with a particular
[554] descendant of a common ancestor. In turn, these originating ancestors were high-tanking kinsmen of the ruling kings of Tonga at various points

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9. Whether the *ha'a* operated at the local level in aboriginal Tonga is still a matter for debate.
10. To the best of my knowledge, Urbanowicz (1972) is the first anthropologist to have insisted that the Tonga of the twentieth century is not a reliable guide to aboriginal Tonga.
11. Kaeppler 1971.
12. Gifford 1929; Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970; Bott 1972.
13. Gifford 1929; Aoyagi 1966; Kaeppler 1971; Morton 1972.
14. Goldman 1970:242.
15. Gifford 1929:30.

613 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha'a*,
612 especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than
565 once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional.
Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue'aonga'aki*
557 *'ene faingamālie*, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the
advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 The second point of similarity between *ha'a* and *famili* is that descent—
or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an accept-
612 able claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership.
565 This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious
611 contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to
many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, member-
[171] ship is activated by the person himself: in the *ha'a*, by asserting his claim
to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating
in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of
613 kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two
different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or
612 social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society.
One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an
individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities.
These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic
[554] sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern
in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to
[565] high rank at the societal level.

On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on
114 the *ha'a* in Tonga, Sahlins[35] came to certain conclusions about essential
171 differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the
local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of
Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be
re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not
denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty
basis for generalising about an entire society.

[35] 1958.

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161 Kingdom's total population, had 58.9% of the total households with two
162 family units and 63.2% of the households with three or more family units.
The Report does not distinguish whether households with several
592 families have come about as a result of grandparents, son and wife, and grandchildren living in the same household, or as a result of brothers and their wives sharing one household. It is also unclear how the local census officers demarcated dwelling units clustered together and cooperating as the one single household. In many parts of Tonga there is a precedent in custom for three or even four generations of the same kin-group to live within the same *'api*, the family unit of the oldest son occupying the main dwelling with other units (parents and unmarried siblings; families of
[593] married siblings) having separate dwellings around. Because of the traditional brother-sister *tapu* there may be an additional hut for unmarried sons. There is less precedent in Tongan custom for two or more family units of the same generation (e.g. siblings, their spouses and children) to live within the one dwelling: this could be a criterion of overcrowding.

It seems from the census figure of 16% ("households" with more than one family unit) that overcrowding is not yet severe in Tonga except in
[342] Nuku'alofa. Here families of siblings are sharing dwellings, and huts are being built on swamp land. Elsewhere, the occurrence of households containing more than one family unit may be accounted for as the persistence of the traditional co-resident extended family, comprising several generations where each "extra" family unit may have its own separate dwelling house which may or may not have been recorded in the census schedule as a household. The increase in average household size has been accompanied by a fall in average overall acreage of land per household from 15.08 acres per household in 1956, to 10.98 acres in 1966.

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● 121 The population densities already discussed have little meaning except in relation to the availability and utilization of natural, agricultural and
13 human resources. The natural resources of Tonga comprise almost
311 exclusively the soils, reefs and surrounding seas with, in late 1968, an elusive possibility of oil; the agricultural resources comprise almost entirely trees—particularly coconut, banana, breadfruit—and ground crops grown mainly without mechanical aids by slash-and-burn methods.
128 Human resources are discussed at the end of this paper.

Dependence on agricultural produce is enormous; in 1961 and 1964
433 these products amounted to 98.19% and 96.39% respectively of Tonga's
[439] total export earnings with copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) forming the basis of the economy and constituting over 80% of the visible exports
[241] throughout the 1960s.[6] Agricultural products are the surpluses and small cash-crops of Tonga's 12,000 or so peasant farmers who are scat-
463 tered throughout the Kingdom and rent their allotments either from titled
[427] nobles or directly from the Government.

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[6] TONGA, 1960–1967 *passim*. Total exports for 1961 amounted to £T1,374,658; agricultural exports £T1,349,461; non-agricultural exports £T25,197.

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cook's voyages are many—44 either have definite non-Cook provenances or no collection information[21] and this is dramatically different from the situation with panpipes. The placement of the holes in the 19th and 20th century noseflutes is also different—there are often five holes nearly equally spaced on the upper surface and one at the middle of the lower surface—and usually there is little or no decoration (fig. 17). This relative abundance and lack of decoration suggests that noseflutes became more widely available in the post-European era. The political intrigues and the changing status of lineages in the 19th century went hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity, and items of material culture which had traditionally been used mainly by high chiefs were taken over by lines of lesser chiefs in an attempt to legitimize themselves and demonstrate their status. One is tempted to speculate that the panpipe is an example of this process and reflects the changing social system of Tonga. The hypothesized introduction of panpipes in late prehistoric times from Fiji and use as a lower status replacement of the chiefly noseflute may reflect dissatisfaction with a social order that was beginning to be oppressive and a spreading desire for goods which had been mainly restricted to chiefs. A subsequent substitution of the real noseflute for a lesser status variant may indicate a wider availability of previously socially restricted scarce goods to a broader stratum of society.

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The substitution of European goods for their socially restricted indigenous counterparts is well known, but Tongan panpipes suggest that similar accculturative processes were operative in Tonga long before the coming of Europeans. We conclude that studies of Tongan material culture (both prehistoric and historic) must take into consideration not only the ramifications of social stratification, but also layers of acculturation that recognize at least a post-Lapita Fijian acculturative horizon, as well as European acculturation.

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This paper is an attempt to interpret a certain amount of data which cannot be illuminated by ethnographic or ethnohistoric research. Tongan panpipes have been objects of interest since they were first collected on Cook's second voyage, but neither the musical system nor their origin or use has been explained to anyone's satisfaction. The interpretations suggested above should be recognized as tentative and based on conceptual analogies derived from other facets of Tongan music and society.

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 122 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-FI-MH-25, 981-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wennergren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17. 122

534 171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

GEORGE E. MARCUS

ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND THE LIMITS OF HIERARCHY IN THE MODERN KINGDOM OF TONGA

I. INTRODUCTION[1]

121 Recent research on social relations in highly stratified societies indicates that principles of status differentiation uniformly permeate relationships on all levels in these societies. Dumont, for example, has shown that in India indigenous conceptions of purity and impurity structure both inter- and intra-caste relationships (Dumont, 1970). Maquet has defined a premise of inequality which underlies virtually all social interactions in the Kingdom of Ruanda (Maquet, 1961). From the perspective of the classic Weberian distinctions concerning social differentiation between class (distribution of control over goods, services, and resources), status (distribution of prestige and honor), and power (distribution of authority), the concern of the above analyses and this paper is primarily with stratification by status, specified in cultural ideologies of rank. The extent to which the distribution of prestige and honor corresponds to the distributions of power and of control over resources in any particular society is an empirical question of secondary interest here. Rather, the central problem of this paper is to examine the extent to which routine, everyday interpersonal relations within a low status group or class in a highly stratified society are in fact permeated by the same concerns with status differentiation or rank determination that characterize social relations between status groups or classes.

The expression of culture-specific ideologies of rank in interpersonal

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[1] The research for this paper was undertaken in connection with a project for the comparative study of law and conflict at Harvard University. My research on Tonga is continuing at the present time. I wish to thank the government of Tonga under His Majesty King Taufā'āhau Tupou IV for kind assistance. Professors Stephan Fjellman, Klaus Koch, David Maybury-Lewis, and Nur Yalman read earlier drafts of this paper and made several helpful comments for which I am grateful.

[p. 34]

and group relations must be distinguished from 'natural' principles of 121
status allocation based on such factors as personality, sex, and age,
which appear in all societies. However, in certain highly stratified
societies such as India and Ruanda, culturally defined categories of
rank are claimed to be pervasive in structuring interpersonal relation-
ships, including the widely noted higher status of elders to the young,
of men to women, and of strong-willed to weak-willed individuals.
Whether or not individuals in these societies are necessarily more 'rank
conscious' in an absolute sense than individuals in societies without
elaborate ideologies of rank is a question that cannot be answered here.

Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga, the only remaining 565
Polynesian kingdom in a region that has been culturally typed for the
prevalence of its highly stratified societies (Sahlins, 1963), depart in 554
some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter-
and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in
terms of a given ideology of rank. Research focussed on Tongan village
life has not discovered a predominantly hierarchical quality in the every-
day interactions among commoners. Neither the Beagleholes, who 565
studied a small village of commoners in the Vava'u region of Tonga
(Beaglehole, 1941), nor Aoyagi, who studied a village on the main 554
island of Tongatapu (Aoyagi, 1966), emphasized the hierarchical quality 114
of village life. Quite to the contrary, Aoyagi noted the absence of
internal stratification in the village that she observed. My own material 565
from fieldwork in the village of 'Uiha in the Ha'apai region of Tonga 554
confirms the view that there is as much equality as hierarchy in the [101]
observed daily interactions among commoners.[3] I had expected the or-
ganization of casual groups within the village, especially the organization 571
of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, 565
borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions 554
within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not
find this connection. For example, there is a striking contrast in the 571
behavior of commoner participants in the daily, recreational *fai kava,*
in which kava drinking and conversations are conducted in a relaxed 565
atmosphere where distinctions of status are difficult to perceive, and 276
in the formally ritualized *'ilo kava,* in which the noble or his represen- 574
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[3] I lived for 2½ months on the island (and village) of 'Uiha during the summer of 1972. I spent shorter periods of time in the capital, Nuku'alofa, and touring the main island of Tongatapu. I worked almost entirely in the Tongan language. Since the scope of this paper is broader than a community study, my constructs are based upon my own data and reading of published literature. [122]

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

571 tative is present and in which all interactions are structured in terms
565 of demeanor and deference.

276 This is of course not to say that questions of rank and status deter-
574 mination are not important in Tongan social behavior. Rather one
554 must try to establish the loci in social life where consistent principles
of rank and status determination are important, and not important,
554 instead of being satisfied with facile claims that *all* social interactions
565 in societies with elaborate ideologies of stratification are dominated by
121 concerns with rank. Kaeppler's reanalysis of Tongan principles of rank
is an important first step in attempting to distinguish the context
565 of Tongan society in which an interest in status determination is a
114 dominant element in the content of social relations (Kaeppler, 1971).
Although she begins by claiming that "all interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed by principles of rank . . ." (Kaeppler, 1971, p. 174), she recognizes in her critique of Aoyagi that the Tongan village is not a microcosm of Tongan society and that a consideration of the importance of rank must be viewed in terms of rank within kin groups and between social classes. In addition, Kaeppler demonstrates that village studies alone do not provide an adequate understanding of the multidimensional contexts in which concerns with status differentiation operate in Tongan social relations.

121 Focussing on interactions within the commoner class in Tonga,[3] this paper will approach the problem of examining the importance of rank in everyday life by defining two alternative sets of structural arrangements for every adult individual in Tongan society, which although interdependent, are governed by different concerns with status deter-

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121 [3] I lived in a community the noble of which was absent and thus observed
123 predominantly commoner social interactions. Much of the previous work on
565 Tonga is characterized by a fascination with the social and cultural life of
Tongan nobility, and there is a need to understand social arrangements at the
114 bottom of the class structure. In fact, it is possible to attribute the extreme
554 'permeation' view of ideologies of rank, which this paper attempts to modify,
to the predominant attention that analysts have paid to rituals and customs of high status groups. For example, previous studies of highly stratified societies attribute intra-class or horizontal rankings to concepts originating in inter-class or vertical rankings (see Maquet, 1961; Goldman, 1970). There is no general justification for establishing a relationship of dominance of vertical over horizontal domains of ranking even though both domains may share some common features in the way that rank is expressed. In this paper, it is only necessary to demonstrate that kinship and class domains share some common principles of expressing rank without concern for the dominance of domains, a question that may appear and needs an answer only when one's perspective is from the top down in the analysis of a hierarchical system.

mination. One alternative structural domain in which much social 121
activity occurs is the Tongan village community. The other is the dispersed bilateral kin set.

Every Tongan adult has both a *fonua,* or island/village identity, and 571
a *famili/kāinga,* or kin set identity. Because of the high geographical mobility of individuals in modern Tonga, one's village and kin set 571
identifications may overlap, but are rarely co-terminal. Particularly in 166
Ha'apai where land shortage and population pressure result in a great deal of movement, it is uncommon to find in any village community complete sibling groups related through two generations in residence.

The dispersion of kinsmen outside the boundaries of village com- 602
munities defines for every adult individual a kin set[4] among which
interactions are predominantly in terms of economic exchanges and 612
support, but are also structured through traditional principles of rank in the *kāinga* (the total category of one's recognized kinsmen). Modifying Gray and Gulliver, I call this dispersed set of kinsmen a family estate which is a "complex of processes, involving on the one hand natural resources and products derived from them and on the other hand the family groups which exploit them ..." (Gray and Gulliver, 1964, p. 5). The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position. The fact of dispersion and diverse economic activity makes contacts between members of a family estate periodic and by the medium of mail and messages rather than face-to-face.

Mitchell has made the important point that any model of kindreds or kin networks must take into account a temporal variable relating to the stage of the individual's life cycle (Mitchell, 1963, pp. 350-351). For Tonga, the temporal variable relating to the appearance of family estates is the stages of fission and replacement in Fortes' scheme for the developmental cycle of domestic groups (Fortes, 1958, p. 5). That is, the analytical temporal focus of the family estate is the period of dispersion of siblings from a single domestic group and the setting up

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[4] I avoid the use of the term kin group or kin network, and instead use the term kin set which indicates that inclusion of individuals in a family estate from the total category of one's recognized kinsmen or *kāinga* involves principles of selection determined by a combination of an individual's economic activity and kinship position. My use of kin set is approximately the same as Gulliver's: he uses the term to denote a category that "comprises those people against whom ego can and does exercise claims, with whom he co-operates, and to whom he acknowledges obligations" (Gulliver, 1971, p. 18).

by the Royal Family in the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965, p. 56). 178
The power of the nobles within the surviving traditional class structure 565
was limited in that they no longer have legally recognized rights to the
services or goods of their people, nor any judicial functions outside the 178
state legal system, nor any control over the amount of rent and tenure of 565
land, legally registered by commoners who live on their *tofi'a*. Essentially, 423
nobles within the traditional structure have been reduced to landlords
with very limited powers even in this status. However, what makes the 175
role of the noble important in the traditional class system is the fact of
their considerable moral and cultural status on the village level, backed 565
by the very real power that they hold in the parallel political structure
of modern government. The Town Officer of a village, often a commoner, [624]
still shows considerable respect to his noble, and at least in 'Uiha,
accedes to his wishes. In sum, the traditional class structure of Tonga
survives, but in an attenuated form with sharply defined boundaries
between the Royal Family and the small number of noble titles on one
hand, and the rest of the population including commoners, nominal
chiefs, and *matāpules* on the other.

4. Tupou I instituted a unique individualistic system of land tenure 423
(see Nayacakalou, 1959, pp. 93-114; Maude, 1965, pp. 97-103). Every
Tongan male over sixteen years of age was to receive on application two
pieces of land: a tax allotment *('api tukuhau)* of 8¼ acres and a town
allotment *('api kolo)* on which to build a house. For his tax allotment, [427]
an individual was to pay an annual rent of eight shillings to his noble if
the land was on an hereditary estate, or to the Government, if the land
was on a government estate. Also, by law, the use of land was to be [428]
inherited by the eldest son of the previous deceased holder. This system
of land tenure exists to the present day, and is an important factor in [166]
stimulating the dispersion of Tongan kin groups from their native villages
and islands. The complexities of the operation of this system in the
face of increasing population need not be considered here. Formerly, [565]
nobles had the power to distribute unused land on their *tofi'a*, but since
there is so little land left undistributed in Tonga, this surviving noble [178]
prerogative has lost much of its effect.

What has happened to patterns of rank in the kinship system, the class 178
system, and the descent system in the face of these changes can best be
approached by asking what has happened to the *ha'a* in modern Tonga. 613
As Aoyagi has shown, the concept of *ha'a* as a group in any of its [121]
previous uses has virtually no meaning for commoners on the village

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

V. CONCLUSION

This paper has analyzed commoner focussed social relations in two major structural domains of contemporary Tongan society: dispersed family estates and the village community. Another important domain which constitutes the interstices of Tongan social structures is the growing towns of Tonga and the existing concentrations of Tongans abroad. Here, the analysis of social relations of different classes who share neither a *fonua* nor a family estate identification would probably differ markedly from that of the relations in the domains considered in this paper. The problems posed by a strange environment in a modern sector obviously alter the conditions of social life for individuals interacting with relative strangers. The influence of culturally defined concepts of rank on interactions between strangers, given homogeneous class identity, is a fascinating question beyond the scope of this paper. 121

Any attempt to construct neat models of alternative social structural domains in Tonga is offset by a focus on the individual actor and his considerable flexibility in manipulating his statuses in alternative social structures. In the above sections, numerous instances have been suggested in which such manipulations occur: variations in the ways that brothers recognize obligations towards sisters; variations in the ways that nobles as distinct from commoners recognize obligations toward kinsmen; variations in the boundary definition of the categories *famili* and *kāinga*; and variations among commoners in meeting obligations of *kāinga fakafonua* membership. These variations do not derive in most cases from an overt questioning of cultural ideologies which in fact permit considerable flexibility in individual interpretation and manipulation, but from the great variety of situations (implying in turn a great variety of personal motivations) in which individuals find themselves inside and outside of modern Tonga. This paper has merely identified the constant elements, the sets of statuses, that define the scene or background in terms of which individual motivations are articulated. 557 121

Every adult Tongan has a set of ranked statuses in a family estate, the definition of which over time is only partly his prerogative; a societal class status manifested in his subordination to the noble of his *fonua*; and a status as citizen, albeit lower class, of a modern government. The nature and expression of personal motivations, whatever they may be, represent an integration of the individual statuses that a commoner holds in the alternative structural domains in which he acts. Analytically, this integration of statuses in the accomplishment of individual ends may be viewed in terms of strategies. 612 554 565 641 557

557 For example, the strategy of a village resident who desires to leave
his *fonua* for a modern sector may be to minimize (but not negate)
his obligations, encompassed in his *fonua* statuses toward fellow villagers
and his noble, while maximizing (to the extent that he can, given his
557 set of ranked kin statuses) his returns in his family estate. Ironically,
612 although individual social mobility in the context of development and
modernization has often been associated with the freeing of the indi-
vidual from the stifling bonds of traditional obligation and responsibility
to the group, the possibility of individual mobility in Tonga from
traditional life centered in village social structure depends upon the
continued vigorous operation of traditional obligations in the structure
557 of the family estate. Furthermore, the possibility of mobility in indi-
612 vidual cases is significantly influenced by one's favorable or unfavorable
position in a family estate, in turn dependent upon the configuration
554 of economic transactions among ranked kinsmen. Once outside the
village, the strategic problem for an individual who still remains in the
family estate (some of course do define themselves out of rights and
obligations and consequently out of their family estates) is to exploit
the advantages of his situation in a modern sector while still fulfilling
121 the obligations implied by his ranked kin statuses. This example has
dealt briefly with the 'development-minded' individual; persons with
other motivations would be analyzed in terms of other strategies for
integrating the same sets of statuses.

It has been demonstrated that although a generalized 'concern for rank' in interactions is certainly an important aspect of modern Tongan society, it is by no means pervasive. One must be able to distinguish between the generalized awareness at all levels of the importance of ranking in a highly stratified society from the actual use or non-use of particular culturally defined concepts of rank in the structuring of interpersonal relations. Paradoxically, traditional ranking concepts appear to be of less importance in structuring interpersonal relations among commoners in the locus of traditional Tongan life, the village, than in the locus of current economic and social development, the family estate.

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648 distance from the land. These men told us that the Canoe we had seen, in which two of them came from Tongatabu, had brought orders for us to have a certain number of hogs from Eaoowe or Middleburg and that in two days the King and other Chiefs would be with us and therefore desired we would return to our last station. There was no reason to doubt what these men told us as they came off with no other view, but as we were now clear of the land this was
[439] not sufficient inducement for me to return. And more especially as we had got such a stock of hogs and roots on board as would run near to last us to Otaheite; for we got a good quantity of yams at the last island which were purchased cheifly with small nails; our stock of hogs was also considerably increased, but had the Cheifs of Tongatabu, whose property they mostly were, been with us we had undoubtedly got many more.

439 At the approach of Night, finding we would not return, these men left us as also some others who had come off in two Canoes with a few Cocoanuts and shaddocks to exchange for what they could get.
121 Thus we took leave of the *Friendly Islands* and their Inhabitants after a stay of between two and three Months, during which time we lived
123 together in the most cordial friendship, some accidental differences its true now and then happened owing to their great propensity to thieving, but too often incouraged by the negligence of our own
123 people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences, to prevent which all my measures were directed. Also during this time we expended very little of our Sea Provisions but
122 lived upon the produce of the islands; and beside the oppertunity of leaving the Cattle before mentioned amongst them, those designed for Otaheite received fresh strength; so that upon the whole the advantages we received by touching here was very great, when it is considered that the Season for proceeding to the North was lost before I steered for these islands.

439 The best articles for traffick are Axes, Hatchets, Togies, that is a Iron tool made in emmitation of one of theirs which they call by that name,[1] it is like a plain[2] iron only it aught to be four times as thick. Nails from the largest spike down to a 10^d, Rasps, Files and Knives which are much sought after. Red Cloth and Linnen both white and Coloured; Looking Glasses and Beads, of the latter blue are in the hig[h]est esteem and white in the least: a String of large blue beads would at any time purchase a hog.[3] But it must be observed, that

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[1] *toki*.

[2] i.e. plane.

[634] [3] 'large beads of which the blue colour bore many Hund^d P Cent greater value than any other, but this preference to the blue was arbitrary, & happend to be the fashion, for on our first arrival at Annamooka they were indifferent as to colour, but Feenow's fondness

128 the other.[1] To have swell'd the Journal with a minute accou[n]t of bearings tacking &c^a would neither have been entertaining nor usefull.

121 114 What has been here Omitted concerning the Geography of these islands will be found in the Narrative of my last Voyage; to that Narrative I must also refer for several particulars concerning the Inhabitants, their Manners and arts, as I shall now confine my self to such things as are intresting and not mentioned in that Narrative and such as may tend to explain some passages in the account of our transactions with them.

124 It may indeed be expected that after spending between two and three Months among these islands, I should be enable[d] to give a good account of the customs, opinions and arts of the inhabitants, especially as we had a person on board who understood thier language and he ours.[2] But unless the object or thing we wanted to enquire after was before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only without falling into a hundred mistakes; in this Omai was more liable than us because he never gave himself the trouble to gain knowledge for himself, so that when he was disposed to explain things to us his account was often very confused. It was also very rare we found a person both able and willing to giving us the information we wanted, for the most of them hate to be troubled with what they probably think idle questions. 123 Our situation at *Tongatabu* where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable; it was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers; it was always holyday with our visitors as well as with those we visited, so that we had but few oppertunities of seeing into their domistick way of living.

144 *Persons Manners and Customs*

As to the people they differ very little from those of Otaheite either in their persons or desposition, if any thing these have the advantage in being better limbed and finer shaped, but than their complexion is much darker.[3] 142 The hair is of different colours that is black, dark brown and flaxen,

302

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[1] By the 'annexed Chart' Cook must, I presume, mean the original from which was engraved Pl. XII of the printed *Voyage*, I, on which Bligh makes the comment (AL, p. 225), 'This is a Copy of my Chart, which was an entire Survey of my own except the South side of Amsterdam & the Isl^d Eooa which C. Cook laid down'. See, for a modern equivalent, Fig. 5 in the present volume.

[197] [2] We get a note on the language from Burney, f. 205. 'The Tongitabu language is more distinct and easier to be learnt than the Otaheite. it is less composed of vowels and does not afford so many instances of words nearly alike conveing different meanings. the G and K are sounds not used by the Otaheiteans and which they are not able to pronounce. in many words the gradual change of language may be traced from the Society Islands to the westward; as in Boa (a Hog) at Otaheite, Boakko at Tongitabu and Wacka at Horn Island.'

[3] Because of their position on the Polynesian-Melanesian borderline.

A [See category 102, p. 104--Analyst]

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

000 covery's People left four Muskets behind them & a petty officer was
sent to fetch them off. The Tide rises and falls about two or three
feet at these Islands. They were Discovered by Capt Cook in his
last Voyage round the World, & called after Lord Palmerston then
one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Omai having lived on shore
during our Stay here was much delighted with these Islands, & used
often to say afterwards that he would come from Otaheite & settle on
them & he made no doubt but he should be able to find them out,
tho' he never was able on being asked to point out which way they
lay by the Sun or the Compass, but for all that he seem'd convinced
himself that he could steer to them in his Canoe & his Ambition
might be flattered with the Thoughts of being King of them. After
all we may rest pretty well assured that Omai will not be so foolish
as ever to make the Attempt.

121 FRIDAY APRIL 18th. We made sail & left these Islands. All thoughts
of getting to Otaheite this spring having some time ago been given up
122 on account of the easterly Winds, & as our Water began to grow
short & the Provender for the Cattle was near exhausted, the
Friendly Isles had been fixed upon as the most likely place where we
shou'd meet with Supplies, and as the Preservation of the Cattle was
a matter of some moment it was well that the Passage to Otaheite
was given up in time; for towards the latter end of the Month when
we made the friendly Isles there was hardly any food left for them in
the Ship, so that if we had been detained at Sea a little while longer
they must have perished of Want; but luckily on the 29th of April we
came in Sight of the Island of Anamooka, called by Tasman who first
439 discovered it Rotterdam. In the Afternoon two Canoes came off to
the Ship with three Men in each. They brought us some Breadfruit,
Cocoa nuts Sugar Cane and shaddocks for which we gave them a few
439 Nails. One of the Indians who was an elderly Man ventured on board
the Ship, his Body was covered over with Scars, his Speech & Action
648 were violent, and he was very earnest in relating something to us
565 which we did not understand, at the same time pointing towards the
Shore, he was much agitated during the short time he staid on board.
This Man we afterwards found to be an Age[1] or Chief. As he was a
very active Person & took a busy Part in managing the commercial
Interests of his Countrymen, & seemed to be of much weight &
consequence in the Island, he was afterwards known among us by
122 the Name of Lord North. While we were standing towards Anamooka
609 we passed several small Islands to windward of us and saw many

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[1] *'eiki*. His name was Kepa.

[pp. 987-1011 not processed]

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

175
581 & many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced
837 that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps
152 from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.
609

437 *Religion.* The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most
565 difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms,
164 as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a
121 very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we en-
175 deavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to
771 have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe
[775] they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every
[673] method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate,
that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her dis-
175
771 pleasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with
776 diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation
[793] of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we
heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They
[184] believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the
Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & difft Islands have different
religions.[1]

175 They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul:
775 they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of
772 a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the
God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well
[776] as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to
the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlastg place to be on this Globe,
shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place
they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance,
[565] upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the
Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird
call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

000 TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Captn Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

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[1] Different gods, rather.

[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu.

[3] Hikuleo.

Rank in Tonga[1]

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 131
18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of
Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some
150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more 161
than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with
Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is 144
much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more [829]
Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who
are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known [643]
example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father,
Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which 197
seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation
of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest
similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan
and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a 576
language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the 195
same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from 565
those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking
to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a*
to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele*, the ordinary word for "run," is used
when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to [537]
the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*)
are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the
language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical 554
ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are gov- 181
erned by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect
this ranking.[2] The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of 121
people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and
the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic,
and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles
important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must 554
conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a [121]
small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the
society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal [612]

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER

Folklore as Expressed in the Dance in Tonga[1]

121 A STUDY OF DANCE in Tonga must go back to the more basic art of poetry, for
535 understanding the poetry is essential if one is to understand the meaning of the
538 dance. On the other hand, if one is to study poetry or any other verbal art in Tonga,
it is essential to study dance, for today folklore is expressed mainly through the
medium of dance. Folklore and dance, then, are interrelated arts and must be
viewed in relation to the socio-political system which produced them.

538 There are two basic kinds of dance in Tonga—one which has movement as its
128 main element, and one which accompanies poetry. It is with this latter type that we
[535] will be concerned, and it can further be divided into two types. One type sings
the praise of the royal family, the high chiefs, and an ethnocentric love of Tonga,
[186] and is essentially an expression of allegiance to the established political and social
order; the second kind comprises legends and folklore from Tonga's hallowed
past, and also from more recent times. Indirectly, however, this second type of
poetry functions in the same way as the first. The example discussed in this paper
is of this latter type.

535 The usual kind of dance that accompanies poetry is called *lakalaka,* which literally
means "to walk" and, indeed, the leg movements are basically a walk that moves
one step to the left, then one step to the right, and occasionally forward and back.
The arm movements are graceful and intricate, deriving their distinctive character
from the rotation of the lower arm. The dance is performed by all the men and
[554] women of a village ranged in two or more rows facing the audience. The men
stand on the right side (from the observer's point of view) and women stand on
the left; the order in which they stand is determined by social status. The men do
one set of virile movements while the women do another set of very graceful movements
535 so that there are two dances going on simultaneously. Each group interprets
538 the poem in a manner consistent with the Tongan view of movements suitable and
appropriate for each sex. The movements dramatize the poetry. They do not
pantomime the words, nor do they symbolize in the sense that one movement
symbolizes one phrase, or idea. Rather they are figurative: the movements create
an abstract picture to which a number of meanings can be assigned, and conversely,
[181] one idea can be alluded to by several different sets of movements. This illustrates
the Tongan value of "not going straight," for the proper way to refer to ideas

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

PREFACE

One of the most conspicious features of Polynesian life and one that has continually drawn comments from explorers, missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists is the dance. These comments have ranged from outright condemnation, to enthusiastic appreciation. Seldom, however, has there been any attempt to understand or interpret dance in the total social context of the culture. Nor has there been any attempt to see dance as the people themselves see it or to delineate the structure of dance itself. Yet dance has the same features as any artifact and can thus be analyzed with regard both to its form and function.

Anthropologists are cognizant of the fact that dance serves social functions, for example, Waterman (1962, p. 50) tells us that the role of the dance is the "revalidation and reaffirmation of the aesthetic, religious, and social values shared by a human society . . . the dance serves as a force for social cohesion and as a means to achieve the cultural continuity without which no human community can persist." However, this has yet to be scientifically demonstrated for any Pacific Island society. In most general ethnographies dance has been passed off with remarks such as "various movements of the hands were used," or "they performed war dances."

In short, systematic study or even satisfactory description of dance in the Pacific has been virtually neglected despite the significance of dance in the social relations of most island cultures.

114 An adequate description of a culture should place the same emphasis on
121 dance as that given it by the members of that society. Yet inadequate
descriptions of dances and their social functions persist even though
dancing is a cultural universal which is integrated with many other
universals in society. Despite the new techniques in recording dance
movements and the possibility of testing approaches such as those
developed in ethnoscience for their applicability, the scientific
description of dance and its function in Polynesia is at the same point
where the first writers on the subject, such as Captain Cook, left it.

The work to be presented here is an exploratory step in filling
121 a gap in the descriptive literature of the Pacific. It has two aims,
namely, to outline a method for analyzing structure of ethnographic
dance data and to delineate the structure of the dance of the
Polynesian society of Tonga.

I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties
122 the late Queen Salote Tupou III and the present King Taufa'ahau
Tupou IV for permitting me to reside in Tonga for an extended period
of time. I also wish to thank other government officials including
His Royal Highness Prince Tu'i Pelehake, Mahe 'Uli'uli Tupouniua, and
123 the Honorable Ve'ehala. To my Tongan families, the Mataeles, Helus,
and Fonofehis go my *'ofa 'atu*, not only for their kindness and
acceptance but also for patiently putting up with my repeated questions
about things being the same or different, which one individual
confessed "made her wild."

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

ABSTRACT

● 121 The problem of this dissertation is to devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the method
128 presented borrows heavily from structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The method devised is then used to analyze the structure of Tongan dance.

121 The two most basic levels of dance organization derived, kinemic and morphokinemic, are comparable to phonemic and morphemic levels in
[535] linguistic analysis. The kinemic analysis of Tongan dance isolates 47 movement units which are the basic components in that dance tradition. Kinemes may have several allo-kines which vary physiologically but are considered the 'same' or a 'variation' of a kineme
[126] by 'native speakers' of the dance tradition. The kinemes with their several allo-kines are 'kinetically' notated in Labanotation, a graphic system for recording human movement.

The second level of dance organization is called morphokinemic and combines sequences of kinemes into recognized movements. The internal structure of morphokines is described in terms of kinemes and the external distribution is discussed in terms of co-occurance of morphokine classes.

The third level of dance structure in Tonga is called the motif level. This section ennumerates some of the frequently occurring combinations of morphokines that form short entities in themselves.

121 These are termed motifs because of their likeness to folklore motifs or motifs in the visual arts. Tongan dance concepts of movement as interpretation and movement as beauty are briefly discussed and [535] illustrated with motifs. The Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement is related to dance motifs.

The fourth level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure 121 of whole dances. A dance in Tonga can be defined as a totality in 535 which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order. Six genres of Tongan dance, each of which has a different combination of structural elements, are discussed in terms of dance movement and three factors external to movement--music, the association of poetry, and the occasion of performance. Interrelations of 'living' dance genres (within which new dances are still created) with 'dead but extant' genres (dances that are performed but no longer created) are discussed.

121 The method presented seeks to ascertain objectively the basic dance units and the ways in which they can be combined, and concludes that descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION

One way to begin an intensive study of a specific aspect of culture is to approach ethnographic data objectively and to locate significant cultural categories. Categories that are inherent in a culture will shed light on social relations in that society and help us to understand how the society works. We must begin without *a priori* assumptions that a category such as dance even exists in the society. If we find there is such a category we must put aside our own cultural notions as to what constitutes dance and what its boundaries are and look instead for the internal structure of the category as seen by the society we study. The task, then, is to give an ethnographic description of that category and its relations with the rest of the culture.

The ultimate aim of an ethnographic description of dance is to give a reader the information necessary to operate as a member of the society with regard to any activity that includes or could include, dance. Such a description would be, as Goodenough has said in a more general context, comparable to a grammar which enables an investigator to learn to speak the language (Goodenough, 1951, p. 10).

With language everyone must be able to speak in order to participate in a culture (though even in language everyone does not participate equally). It is possible in some cultures, however, to know nothing of the dance and still be considered a normal member of the society. Thus, in dance the level of participation ranging from specialists to those who know little or nothing can be quite significant. An ethnographic description of dance, then, must give a reader the information necessary to operate within one or more of several levels of dance participation in the society, if they exist. Whereas in a language description only one taxonomy may be adequate, in dance several taxonomies may be imperative.

This approach, now known as ethnoscience, has been used in several recent ethnographic studies on selected aspects of culture such as kinship (Goodenough 1951, 1956, and 1964; Lounsbury 1956 and 1964; Wallace and Atkins 1960), disease (Frake 1961), religious behavior (Frake 1964), folkbotany (Conklin 1962), and color categories (Conklin 1955). Ethnoscientists, after ascertaining the categorical distinctions recognized by the people they study, construct structural models that are often conceived as sets of interrelated principles or rules presentable in the form of taxonomic hierarchies and paradigms. Structural analysis in linguistics can be ethnoscience *par excellence*. As Dell Hymes says, ". . . for the individual system, structural analysis means a scientific and moral commitment to the inductive discovery of units, criteria, and patternings that are valid in terms of the system itself" (1962, p. 22).

The aim here, following selected aspects of the work of contemporary ethnoscientists, will be to discover the structural units inherent in the movement system. The problem, briefly stated, is to

121 devise a method to analyse the structure of dance. The most crucial problem is the identification of the units for analysis. The discovery procedure, borrowed from descriptive linguistics, aims to isolate basic structural units that are significant to the people studied, comparable to phonemes and morphemes.

Ethnomusicologists, though keenly aware of the possibilities of using methods analogous to linguists to describe musical sound (see, for example, Nettl, 1964, p. 104; Bright, 1963, pp. 30-31) have seldom heeded their own remarks. With notable exceptions, such as McAllester, Merriam, and Trimillos, ethnomusicology has been mainly historical, descriptive and comparative, rather than ethno-musicological. In fact Nettl in a recent book on the subject, Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology, tells us, "The ultimate purpose of description in ethnomusicology is comparison" (1964, p. 167). Another of the few exceptions to this rather harsh characterization is Lamont West who has worked with music of Australian aborigines. In a paper presented to the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1965, he presents the problem as one of identification and evaluation of musical items. As he sees it, without field-checked analysis we cannot know if the items comprising a corpus are of a coordinate level of validity, if they contain errors, or how their equivalence is perceived by the people of the culture studied.

●121 126 Dance ethnologists, for the most part, have not even entertained the possibility that a method analogous to that of linguistics is even feasible. Using descriptive tools, they record a dance as it occurs during a particular performance, and this often is second hand as it is usually done from motion pictures. This can give a description of how a dance was performed on a particular occasion. A corpus of material can be collected and described in this way. It can, however, tell us little that is ethnographic or ethno-scientific unless it is presented to holders of the tradition for confirmation. It seems to me that the dance ethnologist should also try to find what the people themselves consider to be the significant elements, just as a linguist does. We can derive from the judgment of native speakers if language sounds are considered to be the 'same' or 'different,' how much something can vary and still be the 'same,' and what is essential in the linguistic habits. Dance is equally amenable to this same kind of questioning.

A problem that the linguist and ethnomusicologist does not have is one of the greatest obstacles to this type of analysis in dance. The linguist and ethnomusicologist deal in sound and have the efficient tape recorder to record and instantly play back the sound to the informant to judge 'same, different, variation, good, bad, etc.' The dance ethnologist deals in movement and has no comparable mechanical device. True, there are motion pictures, but they are not yet instant developing. In most field situations there is little possibility of

121 developing them, let alone play them back for informants. Perhaps
126 instant videotape might solve the dance ethnologists' dilemma. Without these aids the only hope is for the ethnologist himself to become a 'native speaker' of the dance tradition. This is a second-rate solution at best, for learning to perform the dance tradition accurately, and especially all variations and genres is a time-consuming job and probably not possible in the time available for fieldwork. However, I see no alternative than for the ethnologist to do the 'playback' for native identification and evaluation through his own medium of dance--his body. And there is always the consolation that one learns what is 'wrong,' or 'unacceptable,' or 'different' by making mistakes.

The inadequacy of descriptive words or photographs, even of motion picture film, for the analysis of dance necessitates a more
126 precise way of describing and recording it. To record or describe the physiological aspects of Tongan dance, I shall use Labanotation, a graphic system of recording movement developed by Rudolf Laban (Hutchinson 1954; for use in anthropology see Kurath and Marti 1964), which is an extremely precise system capable of recording even the most subtle movements. It is complete and accurate in itself, however, motion pictures, still photographs, and verbal descriptions are useful supplements in the same way that a recording is a useful supplement to a music score. As a system for recording movement, Labanotation can be used in a way comparable to a phonetic notation of speech sounds.

126 Just as a linguist working with a living language subjects a phonetic grid to phonemic analysis to obtain an inventory of the basic phonemes in a language, a dance ethnologist can subject an 'etic' movement grid recorded in Labanotation to 'emic'[1] analysis in order to ascertain which movements have emic relevance and thereby obtain an inventory of basic dance movements comparable to the phonemes of a language. Meaningful combinations of these emic units are roughly analogous to linguistic morphemes, and these, in turn, form motifs, and finally whole dances.

121 This type of ethnoscientific analysis will provide a means of objectively ascertaining the basic dance units and the ways in which they can be combined. It will also describe the structure of whole dances. A dance in Tonga can be defined as 'a totality in which structural elements have a standardized chronological order.'

The emphasis is on the form or structure of the dance, its parts, and their combinations into integrated unities. The aim is to present an objective scientific method of describing and analyzing dance movements fully and adequately, and in such a way that it reflects the movements as known and performed by Tongans themselves. Thus, descriptions of dances and movements occurring within a culture as seen from

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[1] The terms 'etic' and 'emic' are derived from 'phonetic' and 'phonemic.' 'Etic' refers to actual differences, for example, in sound or movement, that are culture free, while 'emic' refers to differences that are recognized by a particular culture. For a discussion of this differentiation see Sturtevant, 1964, pp. 101-103.

121 the ethnographer's point of view, can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

FIELDWORK ON WHICH THIS STUDY IS BASED

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in two
122 stages. The first field trip was financed by a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The second more extensive field trip was financed by Public Health Service fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and a research attachment.

123 My first real acquaintance with the Tongans was in 1964 during the Tenth International Conference of the Pan Pacific and South East Asian Women's Association (PPSEAWA) held in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. At least three events during this two-week conference helped to establish my rapport with the Tongan people and to impress upon them my purpose.

First, most of the women of PPSEAWA are middle aged or older and all of the Tongan people thought that I was a reporter for the conference. (I had, in fact, only shortly before joined PPSEAWA because I was going to Tonga at approximately the same time as the Conference people.) Many were considerably surprised when during the second week I gave the paper for the Hawaiian delegation. The symposium "Art and Culture as a Bridge Between Past and Future" was based on my paper, "The Preservation of the Arts in Hawaii" (Kaeppler 1965). After this I was firmly established in the eyes of the Tongans as being interested in the arts.

123 Secondly, at the International Night program during the Conference, although there were 15 in the Hawaiian delegation, only two of us performed for Hawaii. We did five Hawaiian hulas and I thus became known as an authority on Hawaiian dance (which I am not) and thus it was only natural that I would be interested in Tongan dance.

Thirdly, the conference had small discussion groups including individuals from all the countries represented. As leader of one discussion group I became acquainted with the Tongans of the group. One of these Tongan women subsequently introduced me to a family of 'dance specialists,' and they became some of my best informants.

[121] During my first period of fieldwork in Tonga, from August to November 1964, I lived with a Tongan family that was atypical in many ways. The house 'belonged' to the grandmother (residence in Tonga is
[591] ideally patrilocal) who was of chiefly birth. Although her husband had traveled and had wealth, his rank was lower than hers. Their oldest son, who was a representative in parliament, his wife and their seven children lived there. Their two unmarried sons lived there, but their unmarried daughter did not, nor did their other married children. The mother and father of the eldest son's wife were also part of the household, although they slept, with some of the children, in a small sleeping house adjacent to the main house. There were always at least five, and usually more, other related or unrelated individuals in the house for various reasons. In addition, a family of

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways
can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic
[125] taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn
the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly
I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a
small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a *matāpule* (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip,
I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--
dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and
192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbal-
ized category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766
784 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
[535]
[281]

122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766 784 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
122 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
124 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
123 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
[122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts
[128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

126 gathering, translation and search for meaning of these texts were
128 probably the most frustrating aspects of my research. (See Kaeppler
121 1967a for an interpretation of one of these texts.) I also worked
129 on the interrelations between tapa design, the dances, and their texts,
and I was instructed in the making of tapa, mats, and other kinds of
122 plaiting. Actually, it was my good fortune to be in Tonga at the time
of the funeral and mourning ceremonies of the Queen. These were not
only illuminating in themselves but gave me insights into aspects of
121 culture that I might otherwise have missed. Throughout my research,
181 no matter what aspects of culture I examined, the fundamental theme
of social organization always arose. Language, material culture,
dance, religion--all referred ultimately to the fundamental emphasis
of this society on its socio-political system.

126 Figure 3.1 is a simple example. It shows one measure of music and one measure of dance with foot movements only. On the first count there is a step forward on the right foot. On the second count the left foot steps forward and the leg bends. On the third count the right foot steps to the right side. On the fourth count the left foot steps to join the right foot. The symbols are explained in Chapter IV.A

Labanotation is not a shorthand system, but rather, it necessitates a detailed analysis of the movement of every part of the body as it moves through space and time. In order to notate accurately it is helpful (indeed almost necessary) for the notator to be able to perform the movements himself in order to analyze exactly what the various parts of the body are doing and in what sequence they are done.

Although the basic principles are simple and logical, it is necessary to undertake a formal course in Labanotation to be able to read and write, just as a course in phonetics is necessary in order to hear and write accurately the language of a people. Labanotation is similar in its scope and precision to the International Phonetic Alphabet which is a basic tool for research and analysis in anthropological linguistics.

121 Recording dances in Labanotation makes it possible to analyze and thus describe from the ethnographer's point of view the structure of various types of dances existing in a society and to isolate

A [See category 116, pp. 37-102--Analyst] cultural traits such as movement patterns, or motifs, lines of direction, and repetition. But anthropologists want to know more than this. Linguists subject their phonetic notation to phonemic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant sounds of a language. Likewise, a dance ethnologist can subject his etic Labanotation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant movements. Certain parallels between dance and language make it possible to use similar methodology. However, procedures are not necessarily the same, for some analytical steps that are imperative in phonemic analysis would have little utility in movement analysis. Some of the methods are comparable but the units of analysis are not necessarily so.

Still a method parallel to that used by linguists is most productive in analyzing dance. The main problem of comparability in the two systems is just what unit of movement would be comparable to a phoneme. That is, should a emic unit be very small such as rotation of the lower arm or should an emic unit include what the hand is doing while the arm is rotation? Since this study is preliminary or exploratory in borrowing methods from linguistics, the units for analysis may seem arbitrary. Thus, it is with my apologies to linguists, especially to Kenneth Pike, that I borrow and adapt terms for what they may not agree are strictly comparable units for analysis.

The problem of this dissertation is basically a methodological one: to describe dance analogously to describing language. Although this method of analysis has been used by linguists for years, it has

121 not been applied to other aspects of culture with equal success. This has been well stated by Gleason (1955, p. 61):

> The concept of allomorphs and morphemes, and of other "allos" and "emes", is one of the most basic in descriptive linguistics. Its importance both as a tool and as an insight into the operation of language can hardly be overestimated. It stands behind the two basic units of linguistic description, the phoneme and the morpheme, as well as behind other lesser concepts such as the grapheme. The principle involved is largely responsible for the high development of linguistic theory and techniques. The inapplicability (so far as we now know) of the concept in certain related disciplines is the chief differentiating factor between the science of linguistics and other treatments of human behavior.

'Allos' and 'emes' are the basic concepts that will be used to analyze dance and it will be shown that these concepts are applicable and at least reasonably successful in the analysis of human movement.[1] It is necessary to coin new words in order to convey movement analogues of linguistic concepts. I will use the words kineme and morphokine to correspond to the linguistic concepts of phoneme and morpheme. Other words such as posture and gesture were tried and rejected, because it was felt that their ordinary meanings would interfere with a technical use. Kineme from 'kine' is used to convey the meaning of a significant movement which is analogous to a phoneme which means a significant sound. Birdwhistel (1952) has used this

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[1] See Philip K. Bock 1964, for a comparable application in social structure.

121 term in a different sense.[2] Kinemes in his system have meaning--while in this system the requirement is that they are significantly different in movement to the 'native speakers' of a given dance tradition. Meaning in this study is not relevant until the morphokine level.

The first aim will be to isolate the significant units of movement, kinemes, for the dance culture of Tonga and present them in the form of a list or inventory. It will then be shown how these kinemes combine to form morphokines and how they, in turn, combine to form 126 motifs and finally dance types. Labanotation, as noted above, is capable of recording all forms of movement in very precise terms. However, only a small segment of all possible movements are significant to the Tongans and thus only the relevant parts of the Laban system will be used. Labanotation symbols will be explained only as needed. For a complete list of those used in this study see Appendix C.[A]

Kinemes will be designated by a letter with a numerical subscript. 128 The letter will designate the part of the body while the numerical subscript will designate what it is doing. For example, 'W' designates 'wrist,' while $_1$ designates that the wrist is bent forward and $_2$

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[2] "Turning to microkinesic analysis, experiment reveals that the various kines may be variedly produced in structural organization or in degree of stress or extent of completion of the particular motion. These variations, which do not change differential meaning, are described as allokinic. From the abstraction of the class of allokines is derived the given kineme which may be lid closure, or head set, or brow position, or mouth behavior, etc." Birdwhistel 1952, following page 75.

A [See category 126, pp. 318-319--Analyst]

CHAPTER IV

KINEMES: SIGNIFICANT COMPONENTS IN TONGAN DANCE

ANALOGY WITH PHONEMES

121 The two basic units in linguistic analysis are phonemes and morphemes. The method of dance analysis presented here will distinguish movement analogues of phonemes and morphemes--that is, kinemes and morphokines. Kinemes are units treated as comparable to phonemes; that is, they are elements selected from all possible human movements and positions and are recognized as significant by people of a given dance tradition. Kinemes are those motions and positions which, although having no meaning in themselves, are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built. The task of this chapter is to locate for Tongan dance the basic units and define the range of permissible variation within these units.

535 Tongan dance has several levels of structure, the most basic of these, the kineme level, is the substratum on which the other levels of structure are based. The analysis of the more complex levels depends on the definition and isolation of the kinemes, as statements about higher levels, especially the morphokine level, will be phrased in terms of kinemes.

121 When faced with a new or unfamiliar dance tradition the first impression may be one of overwhelming complexity, especially when many body parts are moving at the same time. In order to make sense out of a universe of movement that may seem at first glance to have no

121 pattern or regularity, a productive procedure is to isolate the smallest significant units, kinemes, and then to analyze what is done with them to build a totality (dance). It is also desirable to know if, and at what stage of combination of the kinemes meaning is communicated. In a dance tradition where several parts of the body move at once the most economic procedure is to analyze each gross part of the body separately. Then we must find what are the various significant elements for each of these parts of the body. Once this has been determined the contrasting features of the kinemes can be delineated. Eventually a chart of the kinemes can be made. Such charts are potentially useful for cross-cultural comparison. In order to isolate kinemes the first step is observation and comparison of movements in different contexts. The next step is to find by experimenting which differences in movement--etic differences--are recognised as significantly different by the people themselves and which are considered only variants of the same movement.

123 In the field I first watched whole dances to find what parts of the body and sections of the parts moved and what sorts of movements these were. Next I tried to watch certain individuals do the same movements over and over. This was accomplished by having people teach me dances and thus they had to do the movements repeatedly. In this way I learned how much the movement varied as done by one person (personal variation). Then I tried to see several people do the same dance or dances of the same genre that would use the same

123 kind of movements. From this I learned how much variation there was from individual to individual (interpersonal variation). A combination of these two types of variation gave me a chance to see the same movement performed in several contexts (contextual variation). After I learned the movements I performed them in what I considered to be correct and incorrect ways. My 'teachers' would correct versions that were not acceptable. From this I learned that the amount of variation allowed is different in different dance genres.

128 In summary then, my procedure was to make observations, to form hypotheses about what was significant in the performance, and finally to test the hypotheses, verifying, modifying, or rejecting them. This was not possible for each kineme individually, but I tried to follow these steps whenever I could. From these steps and further analysis I have isolated the gross and lesser body parts used in Tongan dance and abstracted the smallest significant units of the movement system.
● 121 These significant units are here termed kinemes which include positions as well as small units of motion. The kinemes include only the contour of movement. Timing is not part of their definition, because the timing of a kineme can vary and still be considered the 'same.'

Kinemes are arrived at by a contrastive analysis similar to the process of arriving at phonemes. That is, the significant element is whether a kineme is perceived as the 'same or different' as another kineme--that is, if it contrasts. Actual physiological differences

121 which do not contrast can be said to be allo-kines. The sum of all the allo-kines defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the amount of variation allowable before it becomes a 'different' kineme. Kineme for our purposes can be defined as 'one of the significant units of motion or position arrived at for a particular dance culture by the analytical procedures presented above.' (For a comparable definition of a phoneme see Pike 1947, p. 63).

KINEMES OF TONGAN DANCE

Movement is accomplished through positions and motions of various parts of the body. An etic notation, for example, Labanotation, symbolizes these motions and positions. Movements can also be described and classified verbally. Positions and motions are theoretically limited only by the physiological limitations of the human body which is composed of head, torso, hips, arms, and legs, each of which can make only a limited number of movements.

535 From all the physiological possibilities the Tongans employ mainly a constellation of movements produced by legs, arms, and head. These three body parts are not of a similar order or of equal importance. The pattern and variation of leg movements is quite simple. The head is used mainly for style. However, arm movements are intricate and varied and are the most significant movements. It is mainly the leg movements which contrast between the genres or categories of dance, while it is the arm movements which contrast within the genre and thus differentiate one dance from another.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER V

MORPHOKINES: MEANINGFUL MOVEMENTS IN TONGAN DANCE

535
ANALOGY WITH MORPHEMES

128 In Chapter IV the significant kinemes of Tongan dance are listed and the etic nature of one or more allo-kine for each are notated. There are more allo-kines which could be listed, but they seem unnecessary at this point because they fall within the range of variation of those presented. Kinemes like phonemes, are largely unconscious as separate entities to the people who perform them. Though I have purported them to be significant to the people themselves, it is I, not they, that have abstracted them into a formal system. If a Tongan were given a kineme chart (or a phoneme chart) he would have to be convinced that it represents what happens when he dances (or speaks), because the kinemes individually (or phonemes individually) have no meaning.

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121 In this Chapter a further analogy will be drawn between the structure of dance and the structure of language. As the material presented in the last Chapter was compared to a phonemic description of a language, the material presented in this Chapter purports to be comparable to a morphemic description of a language. The unit of movement comparable to a morpheme will here be termed a morphokine, meaning the 'form, shape, or structure of movement.' Morphokine can be defined as 'the smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of the movement system.' This does not imply that morphokines must

535 have narrative meaning (although they sometimes do), but only that

121 they are recognized as dance movements. These units cannot be divided without changing or destroying their 'meaning.' Morphokines can be examined in a way analogous to morphemes, that is, with regard to their internal structure and their external distribution.

Morphokines are sequences of kinemes and only certain combinations are meaningful. These combinations of kinemes often recur. They are recognized by the Tongans and some are given names and can be grouped in categories. A unique selection and arrangement of kinemes can be said to define a morphokine. Statements about morphokines must be made in terms of the kinemes which comprise them, just as statements about morphemes are made in terms of phonemes (Gleason 1955, p. 66).

It should be noted that in Tongan dance the kinemes and morphokines are never minutely specific so that at the etic level they may not be identical. For example, if I say that the palm is facing up, I do not mean that it must do so exactly, for there may be a slight tilt in any direction. In Tongan dance the wrists are always flexible and follow comfortable natural movements of the hands. The so-called graceful look of Tongan dance is due to this flexibility of the wrists.

The morphokines of Tongan dance will be analyzed with regard to their internal structure (that is, their kineme composition--the kinemes used and their sequence) and grouped into classes. The external distribution--that is, the co-occurrence of morphokines will also be examined.

535 The first objective in identifying language morphemes is "to
121 segment the corpus--that is, to divide it into portions, each of
which represents a single morpheme; and to class these segments
together into morphemes" (Gleason 1955, p. 65). In this study of
Tongan dance, segmenting and classing of the raw data proceeded
535 simultaneously. The results are listed below. Doubtless there are
121 other ways in which the data could be grouped. The classes presented,
128 however, seem most economic and systematic, and are able to account
for all the data. No doubt there are morphokines that are not included
in my corpus, but I feel quite certain that they will fit into the
class system devised.

535 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MORPHOKINES

By the internal structure of morphokines I mean the sequence of kinemes that make up a recognized movement. Some kinemes are motions (e.g. rotation of lower arm); others are basically positions with the motion of getting from one position to another understood. Morphokines, as here described, combine kinemes--whether position or motion into flowing movements that have a definite beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of a single kineme, a kineme repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. Morphokines will be abbreviated 'M'. When a morphokine consists of a single kineme, its kineme designation will be used to avoid unnecessary duplication.

The movements deriving from the three sections of the body significant in Tongan dance can be considered at the highest level

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 Formal occasions call for lakalaka, which, in effect, take the place of a speech. Lakalaka today are the embodiment of Tongan traditions and express them both audibly and visually. Ma'ulu'ulu may serve the speech-making function or may sweep the mala'e in preparation for the lakalaka 'speeches.'

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre used for entertainment, for small groups of friends, for the King and Queen of Tonga, or for visiting dignitaries. Occasionally ma'ulu'ulu is also used as entertainment because its appealing combination of indigenous Polynesian and Western elements, coupled with its precise varied movements, makes it at once familiar and yet exotic to Tongan and foreigner alike.

● 121 METHODOLOGICAL APPRAISAL

The aim of this dissertation was to devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the further requirement was set that it should reflect dance movements as known and performed by the carriers of the dance tradition themselves. The method devised borrows from several disciplines. The first two levels of analysis, kinemic and morphokinemic, are based on structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The movement units isolated at these two basic levels were derived by contrastive analysis comparable to methods used to isolate phonemes and morphemes in speech.

121 The units derived at the third, motif, level are similar to motif components as used in folklore and the visual arts. Their method of derivation, however, is different. Whereas, in folklore, for example, a motif is "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed" (Thompson 1950, p. 753), in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units.

The final level of Tongan dance was based on ethno-semantic categories. These named categories, or genres, were found to be different combinations of structural elements from the lower three levels of dance organization and elements external to dance movement.

These four levels were found to account for all the relevant data in Tongan dance, but it must be emphasized that these levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, this system alone. Each dance tradition must be analyzed in terms of itself. It is conceivable that a dance tradition could have only two levels or five levels or more. The kinemic and morphokinemic levels, I suspect, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system, but the higher levels of organization are more dependent on the external cultural system.

Though I have claimed that the movements presented are known to the Tongans themselves, I do not imply that I have presented what
124 goes on inside the natives' heads. The information was not derived
126 by asking hypothetical questions, and in many cases was not verbal
123 at all. Movements were derived mainly in terms of motion, the

124 verbalized level being only if movements were the same, different,
126 or variants, and how they could be designated.

123 I have not presented all Tongans' view of dance, or one Tongan's
121 view of dance, or even an agreement of several Tongans' view of dance.
Any of these three would be impossible in Tonga. Very few Tongans
535 have seen all dance types and even fewer can perform all of them.
[644] Those who know the most about dance are the people who live in
Lapaha where all six types of dance are performed--but not by all the
124 people. This method can be criticized on the the grounds that I have
used so-called 'well-informed informants,' and it is true that I have.
But this was necessary, as only individuals who were sufficiently
familiar with a genre were able to tell me what dimensions were
emically relevant within it.

121 The method does not disregard ambiguity, but emphasizes that
ambiguity exists. There is variation in all the kinemes, and the
boundaries between some are arbitrary. This is complicated by the
fact that, especially for arm positions, what contrasts in one dance
genre might not contrast in another dance genre.

The units were derived by observing what dancers did, asking them what they did, forming hypotheses about what was significant, and testing the hypotheses by performing. The elements that were claimed by Tongans to be insignificant, however, were not disregarded, but an attempt was made to present them without violating the Tongans' concepts about their dance as far as these could be ascertained, 124 hence the 'non-emic' categories and the complications of the head movement existing in both emic and non-emic categories.

●121 The method does not oppose 'etic' and 'emic' analysis, but shows that they complement each other. The existence of non-emic movements shows that the two forms of analysis must proceed side by side. For even though some aspects of dance are judged to be non-significant to the holders of the tradition, they are important for an objective description of the dance from an observer's point 121 of view and essential for any cross-cultural comparison. It is easy 535 for an observer to divide a ma'ulu'ulu into sections because the sections are differentiated by singing and not singing. But it is not easy to divide the ta'anga into sections because the divisions are not visually or audibly apparent--the sections instead being differentiated by internal divisions in the poetry that are culturally 121 defined. As Edward Sapir has noted, an outside observer, "will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in the course of action that give formal significance to the whole" (1949, p. 547).

Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as human behavior.

The analysis of Tongan dance presented here is methodological in that it develops a method for the analysis of dance structure. It

121 is ethnoscientific in that it seeks to isolate and describe what the Tongans recognize as significant in their dance. And it is theoretical in that it presents a model for understanding Tongan dance and my theory of Tongan dance.

Analyses of this sort suggest several future possibilities.
We can state precisely how one movement (or motif or genre) differs
from any other. We can make a componential analysis of morphokines
using kinemes as components. We can analyze whole dances of the
several genres statistically and state precisely how each genre
differs from others by the relative frequency of kinemes, morphokines,
or motifs used. Analyzing several related dance traditions,
we can state in which dimensions they are the same or different.
535 For example, many of the arm movements in the dance traditions of
171 Tonga and Samoa are quite similar. I would hypothesize that one
difference is the relatively greater frequency of the rotation of
the lower arm in Tongan dance as opposed to a greater frequency of
121 the flexion and extension of the wrist in Samoan dance. Perhaps even
studies similar to linguistic glottochronology can be made using the
basic inventories of dance movements in related cultures. This, in
turn, can be used as independent evidence in studies of culture
history, which is presently based mainly on archaeology, linguistics,
and botany. Most important, however, it makes it possible to say
something precise about dance with terms and concepts that are meaningful
to anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and others who are

● 121 interested in dance as human behavior, instead of using imprecise, impressionistic language which adds little to an understanding of a complex social phenomena.

Analyzing dance with this method necessitates a knowledge of anthropology, linguistics, ethnomusicology, dance notation, and possession of moderate performing ability. Gertrude Kurath found in 1960 that, "an adequate course in training--which should include courses not only in anthropology but also in kinesiology or 'modern' dance (not ballet), folk dancing, dance notation, and music . . . does not exist" (1960, p. 247). Since 1960 course offerings at American universities have multiplied and the University of Hawaii does offer all the background courses necessary for the training of dance ethnologists. It is hoped that anthropologists will look to human movement analysis as an aid, not only in the interpretation of dance itself, but also in what it can tell us about broader social phenomena of interpersonal relations and societal structures.

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
Tungua

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been in general use in pre-European times (wooden headrests, for example) 172
have been generally replaced by Western imports (pillows in this case). Many 565
chiefs, however, still make use of the traditional objects, especially on ceremonial 177
occasions (such as weddings when wooden headrests are part of the necessary
presentations).[12] Perhaps by the eighteenth century only the highest chiefs made 178
use of pottery, and the few pots needed were not manufactured in Tonga but came from Fiji.

Some of the pottery-bearing areas were visited by Cook, who collected two 172
pots at Amsterdam (Tongatapu) on his second voyage.[13] On his third voyage
Cook met the Tamahā Moungalakepa and her brother Latunipulu and it is 177
conceivable that Cook received pots from them.[14] One of these pots eventually 113
reached England and became part of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum.[15] This pot 323
was purchased at the dispersal of the Leverian Museum in 1806 by a Mr Atkinson as part of lot 4441, "... baked earthen bottle, New Amsterdam."[16] Although I have found other items purchased by Atkinson, I have not yet found his Tongan pot. There is a chance, however, that this eighteenth-century Tongan pot still exists and will eventually help to settle the question regarding Tongan v. Fijian manufacture of pottery during the eighteenth century.[17]

In a recent publication, Bulmer has concisely described the role of ethnography 172
in reconstructing the prehistory of Melanesia[18] and has encouraged ethnographers and ethnohistorians to provide more useful data. A similar need exists 121
for Polynesian ethnographers to make their relevant material available for use by archaeologists and prehistorians. Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga have made some use of the ethnohistoric information, but more creative use of this information, as well as ethnographic data, might contribute to a resolution of the divergent explanations existing in the present interpretations in the Tongan prehistoric sequence. Green, for example, explains the lack of pottery in certain 172
areas by a long aceramic horizon,[19] while Golson and Poulsen, basing their explanation on a series of radiocarbon dates, had come to the opposite conclusion that pottery was made for the total span of Tongan prehistory and up to the period of European contact.[20] Green supports his view with the logical assumption that if pottery were present in the historic and protohistoric period, it would be mentioned in Tongan traditions.[21] However, an examination of such traditional material shows that mention of material culture of any kind is very rare except for what Tongans consider *koloa* (valuables), namely mats and barkcloth that are given on ceremonial occasions. Golson and Poulsen now would appear to agree with Groube that C^{14} dates do not necessarily date pottery found in the same levels.[22] Groube explains the distribution of pottery sites on ecological

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12. At the time of European contact wooden headrests were elaborate and varied but by the twentieth century, when they were used mainly by chiefs, only two simple types survived.
13. Beaglehole, 1961:265.
14. Anderson (Beaglehole, 1967:942) and Samwell (Beaglehole, 1967:1037) both mention seeing pottery.
15. It is more likely that the Leverian pot came from 3rd voyage (see Force, Force & Kaeppler, in preparation).
16. Leverian Museum, 1806:207.
17. The eighteenth century pot depicted in Labillardière is clearly a Fijian pot (1802, plate 31). It is difficult to tell whether the globular object depicted in Tasman's journal (Sharp, 1968:161) is a Fijian-style pot or a coconut water container.
18. Bulmer, 1971.
19. Green, 1972:83.
20. Golson, 1971:74.
21. Green, personal communication.
22. Golson, personal communication.

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
Tungua

172 considerations and late colonisation of the islands north of Tongatapu.[23]
172 However, the abundance of pottery on Tungua does not seem to support this view. I suggest, instead, that the seemingly erratic distribution of pottery in time and space as well as its quality and quantity can be explained only by appealing
121 to non-archaeological data and especially to social structure. I, for one, will not be convinced of the accuracy of archaeological explanations for Tonga until the relationships between social structure and material culture consumption patterns are taken into account.

23. Groube, 1971:303–304.

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TONGAN ADOPTION BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an ethnographic reconstruction of aboriginal adoption transactions. It is based on recent (1970 and 1971) field work in the 121
Polynesian archipelago combined with archival research on extant nineteenth century documentation. The paper deals with adoption transactions prior to 1875 since aboriginal adoption, as well as numerous other aspects of aboriginal culture, were radically altered as a result of European influence. The Tongan Constitution of 1875 is a landmark for any discussion pertaining to Tonga, for at that time various alterations were rigidly introduced into Tongan culture.

Introduction

The Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga is currently a Constitutional 101
Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. The territorial 131
boundaries of the island kingdom were proclaimed by King George Tupou I
(a great-great-great grandfather of the present King) to be 15°S and 23°S and
173°W and 177°W (Anonymous 1887). The islands of Tonga thus fall within
a rectangle of the South Pacific some 596 miles north-south by 264 miles
east-west.

In approximately 1800, Goldman's most useful "terminal date" for 175
aboriginal Polynesia in general (1970: xxviii), a numerical "guesstimate" of 161
the Tongan population would probably fall within the range of fifteen to
twenty thousand individuals. The most frequently cited figure for early 175
nineteenth century Tonga is that of 18,500 recorded by the American 161
Commodore Wilkes in the year 1840, from data provided by the local 114
Wesleyan missionaries (Rabone 1845:III:29). However, as McArthur has
accurately pointed out, this figure is grossly at odds with a Wesleyan
guesstimate of 50,000 Tongans for the year 1847 (1967:74; *vide* Lawry

642 cognisance of the old and well-known chiefly custom concerning adopted
597 children" (*ibid.*). The Constitutional Ammendment, Act No. 15 of 1953,
428 added the following paragraph to Section 107 of the Constitution:

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> Whereas by Tongan Custom PROVISION HAS ALWAYS BEEN MADE THAN AN ADOPTED CHILD MIGHT SUCCEED TO THE ESTATES AND TITLES OF HIS ADOPTIVE FATHER now therefore it is decreed that upon the death of the holder of an estate or title who has inherited such estate or title by virtue of his blood descent from such adopted child the estate and title SHALL REVERT TO THE DESCENDANT BY BLOOD OF THE ORIGINAL HOLDER OF THE ESTATE AND TITLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THIS CLAUSE . . . [stress added] (Wylie 1967:1:36).

Thus, in the twentieth century, Tongans realized the efficacy of adoption transactions in aboriginal Tonga and have incorporated what was once custom into the laws of the Kingdom for matters concerning high ranking individuals.

Conclusions

The major purpose of this brief paper has been to present descriptive
121 and interpretive data on aboriginal adoption transactions in Tonga. Although
597 numerous activities involved transactions between kin (*tauhi*, *ngaahi*, *fakahingoa*, *pusiaki*, and *ohi*), the data and interpretation show that there was only one concept in aboriginal Tonga which should be given the gloss "adoption," and that was an *ohi* transaction, a transaction involving permanent change in the rank and residence of the adopted individual. *Ohi* transactions took place between high ranking individuals for political purposes.

The second purpose of this paper has been to point out that aboriginal
121 Tonga is certainly not twentieth century Tonga. Scarr (1967:4) has written of
597 a "rigidity" in Tongan social structure, springing "in part, from primogeni-
428 ture," yet it was only with the Constitution of 1875 that strict rules of
178 primogeniture were introduced into Tonga. King George was most emphatic
642 in his 1875 statement to Parliament concerning the strict succession "from father to son for ever" and the new emphasis that "no adopted children"
[114] could ever succeed to anything. This is why the Beagleholes were in error in their 1941 work when they dealt with *ohi* transactions and stated that the child so adopted "will also expect to inherit property, status and rank, if any, from its adopted parents" (1941:70). It would have been true before the Constitution, but in the twentieth century it was simply against the law.

597 Although the Tongan Constitution was amended in 1953 for cases
642 ralating to high ranking Tongans and *ohi* transactions, for the bulk of the
565 populace the situation remains the same: no adopted child can inherit from
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his (or her) adopted parents (although the child could certainly inherit from 597 his own biological parents). As recently as 1961 the Chief Justice of Tonga 642 stated: 428

> no person who is an adopted child and has not been born in wedlock to [565] the person from whom he claims to inherit, is now entitled to inherit under the law of succession in any event. (Hammet *in* Hunter 1963:182).

The Chief Justice also pointed out in the same context:

> From the date the Constitution was granted in 1875 until the present time no adopted child has been entitled to inherit under the law of succession and no provision has been made whereby an adopted child may succeed in the future. (*ibid.*).

The 1953 Amendment to the Tongan Constitution changed the Constitution [565] for the high ranking Tongans, but for the bulk of the populace in the twentieth century inheritance rules are guided not by custom but by law. For [425] the Tongan farmer, inheritance of land (in a land-scarce archipelago) is [423] extremely important; and as A. Maude's most recent work on land in Tonga states it, "only legitimate sons may inherit" land, and "these rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly" (A. Maude 1971:113).

It is clear that twentieth century Tonga is not aboriginal Tonga. The 178 "Europeanization" of Tonga removed much of the inherent consensus and 177 flexibility from Tongan society, and researchers and Tongans alike must be 121 made aware of this.

NOTES

1. Funding for the research partially presented in this paper was provided, in part, by an NDEA (Title IV) Fellowship and an NIH Traineeship (PHS Grant 5 T01 GM01382-05). Field work was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Assistance and information provided by individuals in Tonga, especially those connected with the *Komiti Talafakafonua 'o Tonga*, "Tongan Traditions Committee", is greatly appreciated. Space limitations obviously precludes the listing of all individuals from whom assistance was gratefully received, but see the completed dissertation (1972:v-x). An earlier version of this paper was discussed at a symposium on "Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania" at the First Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, March 29-April 1, 1972. Numerous people have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, are responsible for what I present. 122 [101]
2. C. Maxwell Churchward has defined *tauhi* as "to tend, look after, take care of" 597 (C.M. Churchward 1959:463). One of the earliest definitions of the term was 855 recorded by the Wesleyan missionary S. Rabone who defined *tauhi* as "a nurse; a

643 Order; Knight Commander of (the order of) the British Empire; and Commander of (the order of) the British Empire].

Although much has been written about *kava* ceremonies in Tonga (Pratt
114 1922; Collocott 1927; Gifford 1929; Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941; Newell
276 1947; Lemert 1967; Bott 1972 and Leach 1972) no authors have satisfactorily dealt with the basic question raised by Lemert when he criticized the work of the Beagleholes: no one has explained "why drinking *kava* rather than other beverages continues to function as an integrating force in Tongan life" (1967:190). Lemert pointed out that this is an extremely important question since "home brew" has been available for some time as one "alternative of male interaction." One must also add that there are numerous commercial establishments in Tonga which provide alcoholic beverages which could, theoretically at least, serve as substitutes for *kava* drinking.

121 Why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years, both informal consumption (loosely structured) and formal ceremonial consumption (highly structured drinking patterns)? To deal with this question one must combine contemporary ethnographic evidence with accurate ethnohistorical evidence
276 to obtain a diachronic and plausible interpretation. The major point presented in this paper is that *kava* drinking has been the way in which
186 Tongans have maintained their identity. The most important *kava* ceremony
574 in Tonga, the *Taumafa kava* (or monarch's *kava*) continues to provide the
121 major focal point for Tongan unity.[1]

Drinking in Tonga

121 To place the *Taumafa kava* ceremony into perspective, background information on the drinking of *kava* and alcoholic beverages is in order. With
275 the prerequisite alcohol license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off of the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be
275 partaken of in at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At
571 one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of a continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nuku'alofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nuku'alofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nuku'alofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males

643 The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day.
276 With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by
means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the
574 "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.
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Conclusions

121 The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the
years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since
276 alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in
178 this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which
Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava*
121 drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve"
276 feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems;
178 [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all
186 important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava*
drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-
182 Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with
non-Tongans.

276 There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on
which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the
574 Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a
643 *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any
certainty as to the serving order of the *kava.* The precedence of serving for all
non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on
the occasion and those present.

121 As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the
twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption
276 since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of
186 Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities
[543] concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of
the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava*
sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption
patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it
means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans
appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated
concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the
end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan
121 way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consump-
276 tion patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a prepon-
273 derance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

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2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.

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3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973 114.

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4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).

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5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still] refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen [or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea, because the fortress at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).

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6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal part on *H.M.V. Kao*. Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.

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7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970 134; and Sahlins 1958 24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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177 178 society merits closer consideration than 1850 for Tonga (Goldman 1970: xxviii).

178 554 [114] Utilizing 1800 as a reference date for Tonga, one has a dynamically operating and changing Polynesian society, with an elaborate system of rank (based on kinship ties) and status (based on kinship and achievement). Changes in the rank and status systems resulted from Western contact but these have not always been successfully analyzed or reported in ethnographic accounts.[2]

ABORIGINAL TONGA

643 644 554 There are four major titles in Tonga with which we are concerned: *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, and *Tamaha*. When the various missionaries arrived in the archipelago, they grasped part of the cultural system of ranking. The Wesleyan missionary Lawry recorded in his diary for September 13, 1823, that

> the following is the order in which the present Chiefs of the Friendly Islands rank, viz: –
> 1. Tooitonga [*Tu'i Tonga*]
> 2. Tooihatacalowa [*Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua*]
> 3. Tooicanacabooloo [*Tu'i Kanokupolu*]

Another Wesleyan missionary, John Thomas (in the archipelago from

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121 127 [114] [2] The only way in which a researcher can attempt a reconstruction of aboriginal culture is for that researcher to examine the earliest extant documentation pertaining to that culture and then make comparisons between the old information and new information gathered by contemporary field work. Urbanowicz (1972) provides a detailed explication of the methodology of the documentary research.

127 Ethnohistorical techniques were used to extract ethnographic information of the past from the documentary materials. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a body of documents specifically chosen for the construction of an historical ethnography (See Fenton 1962; Sturtevant 1966). The ethnohistorian focuses on the "ethno-" in the term, in presenting an ethnography of a given group of people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it eventually contributes to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by ethnographers is not synonymous with culture history, as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971: 21).

121 Every ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must read background material prior to beginning field work and must weigh and assess previous research reports; and every ethnohistorian is at heart an ethnographer, combining archival research with field work among the contemporary people. This is 128 why I went to Tonga. Also see Cohn 1968; Dodge 1968; and Lurie 1961. Original orthography has been maintained throughout this paper.

562
644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
178

INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian
island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monar-
643 chial form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat bloodthirsty unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou, later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discussions pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank was something which came about because one was born into the position. Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leadership or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In
aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had
642 the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:
829

> 643 Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times* explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

Table VI

Tongatapu 511

Diet, Possessions and Club Attendance 184

	House Types				
	Large Wooden %	Small Wooden %	Indigenous %	Composite %	Average
Diet					
Three meals daily	75	52	28	43	44.5
Buy Imported food	56	31	31	40	35.4
Possessions					
Two or more beds	100	55	12	27	42.4
Motorised vehicle	44	17	0	7	14.2
Horce or Cart	38	38	34	67	43.5
Club Attendance					
Fale Hiva	69	52	53	60	56.6
Fale Kava	31	66	44	50	49.5
Fale Koko'anga	19	28	41	57	38.4
Total Households	16	29	32	30	107

Source: Household Questionnaire

Notes: The answers on diet refer to activities occurring at least three times weekly; those on club attendance involved at least one person in the household. Both types of wooden house correspond with "exotic"; the information on the larger houses is included for later discussion. [128]

sometimes beyond Tonga. The *fakafefine*, however, are not typical. 443
The unit of organisation (for most Tongans involved in the bazaar sector) is the family or people of the immediate neighbourhood. 441
Rarely does involvement in the bazaar provide the sole or main source of 434
income for the families concerned. It provides work and income for 443
some members of the family while others are involved in agriculture and paid employment. 592
Participation in these three areas of economic activity involve the total labour force of the family and ensure its greatest chance of economic well-being. Nevertheless, the bazaar 000
sector in Nuku'alofa seems likely to expand as more wealth enters the kingdom and the indigenous market expands.[24]

nuku'alofa: readapted or transformed ? 121

McGee has suggested that "Some folk societies ... are

121 readapted rather than transformed."[25] The point is re-emphasised by
Franklin who views peasant society as a "residual system" within a
larger capitalist economy and points to the resilience of the
peasantry.[26] Gundar Frank introduces a new dimension which, if
accepted, points to a prolonged existence for peasant societies and
systems. He suggests that underdevelopment in some countries is the
obverse of development in others, both being part of a "single process
of capitalist development".[27] The modern commentator often finds
difficulty in accepting that non-western societies may not choose
western forms in the final working out of their urban and rural
futures but, if we accept Frank's views, the peasantry appear to have
an assured future in underdeveloped countries. Franklin's observation
that the peasantry shows remarkable resilience in adverse conditions
typical of underdeveloped countries seems to support this.
Both writers would appear to agree that the increased penetration of
capitalism does not necessarily eliminate peasant systems of
production—or, presumably, peasant-like attitudes within the broader
128 society. At this point it would therefore seem appropriate to
consider those reasonably well-off families living in Nuku'alofa
511 (those living in "large wooden" houses (see Table VI)) whose paid
184 employment makes them independent of a supplementary income from
agriculture and who, for purely economic reasons, would do better by
opting out of kin obligations.

369 How far have these urbanised and often superficially
westernised families rejected activities common to others in the town?
184 They are by definition less involved in the peasant economic system
but they remain very much a part of the traditional society. All
attitudes to important events in the life cycle, such as birth, the
celebration of the first birthday, circumcision, courtship, marriage
and death, are retained. Their attitudes towards the organisation of
society, the hierarchy of king, nobles, church, family and authority
[353] generally, are also retained. The physical organisation of their
houses is the same in spite of a greater abundance of western articles
[352] and furniture. It is not uncommon, for example, for beds to be used
for the storage of special mats while the people sleep on the floor.
In one case the adults slept on mats in a traditional fale leaving the
comforts of their modern house for the convenience of others.
[556] Sleeping, eating, cooking and washing units are kept apart, kava
remains an important ceremonial and social drink, the stone umu is
still used, tapa and mats remain symbols of wealth and prestige and
the wearing of the ta'ovala and kiekie remain as signs of the well
dressed. Participation in the kautaha koko'anga is less evident but
these families are keen recipients of "gifts" made by such activities.
They are actively involved in the fale hiva which, in this respect, is
a rallying point for established and status conscious families. The
closer these people become to the apex of society, the more committed

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional 369
values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; 184
the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see
Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, 674
prostitution, the *fakafefine* and prisoners are much the same among the [369]
upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. [184]
Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who
avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an unmarried
mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk
to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the
community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken [784]
when one breaks social *tapu* concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in
the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, 571
to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and
satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and 182
economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money
conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of [178]
tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are
few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in
attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional
societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, 121
there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have
described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro 369
town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not
help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town
are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or
bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly
peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural
phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar
and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural
socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In
the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a
society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear [565]
in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet
exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are 178
"all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a
result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their 171
indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one 121
on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result.
The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not 121
predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off.
At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural 369
element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

121
369 economy remains labour intensive, the imbalance of the economy ensures a continued flow of peasant immigrants and kinship ties continue to provide security for the poor and status for the well-off. The "ruralisation" of Nuku'alofa is likely to continue because rural and traditional attitudes and forms of activity are a real and very necessary means of tackling urban problems.

000 It seems likely that only drastic internal changes can lead to a breakdown of the existing socio-economic relations based on kin. Peasant societies generally have shown a tremendous resilience and capacity for survival and there is no reason to suppose that urban peasant societies are more brittle. It is as well to recall, also, that Tongans long ago demonstrated their capacity to change forms without undermining substances.

369
[177]
[178]
[171] Nuku'alofa in these respects is neither totally unique nor solely transitional; it is a variant resulting from its own historical experience of the impact of western technology and economic organisation upon a traditional socio-economic system. It represents but one shade within the vast spectrum of urbanism in underdeveloped countries.

7 Land shortage and population pressure in Tonga

Alaric Maude

121 The problems of land shortage and population pressure in small
islands with only limited resources have been recurrent themes in
recent geographical research in the Pacific islands, particularly in
island Polynesia where populations are now generally increasing at
rates of between 3 and 3·5 per cent annually. This essay is concerned
with the chain of islands in western Polynesia which form the
131 Kingdom of Tonga (Fig. 7.1). The 150 islands of the Kingdom,
comprising the three main groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and
161 Vava'u, and a number of outlying islands, have a total land area of
only 663km^2 and support a population of about 87,000 (1970 estimate).
433 The Kingdom's only natural resources are the soil and the
surrounding reefs and seas, and the economy is overwhelmingly
241 agricultural, being based largely on subsistence food cropping and
161 the export of bananas, copra and desiccated coconut. With a limited
area of land, a population density in 1970 of about 185/km^2 of arable
182 land, and a projected annual population growth rate of 3·1 per cent,
Tonga faces potential problems of land shortage and population
pressure as severe as in any other nation or territory in the Pacific
Islands, with the exception of some of the atoll groups.

121 The focus of this essay is on man/land relationships, for with an
essentially agricultural economy these are central to Tonga's population problem. The main objective is a search for, and examination
of, possible symptoms of population pressure within the man/environment system. Particular attention is paid to land tenure,
which determines how land is allocated amongst the population; the
agricultural system, agriculture being by far the most important use
of land; and the perception of, and reponse to, population pressure
by Tongans. At a more theoretical level, the final part of the essay

121 attempts to relate the Tongan material to the general statements of
Geertz (1963) and Boserup (1965) on the effect of population growth
on man/land relationships.

Varying approaches and methods have been used in this research in an attempt to combine depth of understanding with breadth of coverage. Some aspects of the system of man/land relationships, for instance the uneven population distribution or the pattern of internal migration, can only be understood by analysis at both the national and local levels. Other aspects, such as the functioning of the land-tenure system or the effect of population density on agriculture, require studies of individual gardens, households and villages, and the comparison of areas experiencing differing conditions. Broadly, the material used can be divided into four main types:

127 (1) Material relating to the whole of Tonga. This includes the
reports of the 1956 and 1966 Censuses, the records and maps of the Lands and Survey Department, and official statistics and departmental reports.

125 (2) Material from detailed surveys at the level of the household
127 and village. This includes a general household questionnaire survey
of four villages in Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga, more specialized surveys of land holding (one village in Ha'apai) and food cropping (two villages in Tongatapu and one in Ha'apai), and the results of three previous village studies of land tenure.

124 (3) Material from reconnaissance surveys, which involved
interviews with key informants in a number of other villages
[121] throughout Tonga. The object was to determine the extent to which
conditions in these villages were similar to, or differed from, conditions in the villages studied in greater detail.

124 (4) Historical material, obtained through interviews and arch-
127 ival research, and from previous studies in Tonga. Such material,
[121] although limited in amount, is valuable in providing a time-
dimension to some of the variables involved in man/land relationships.

125 The bulk of the material is from the detailed surveys, which were
made within the framework of the village community. No attempt
was made to draw a general random sample of households over the
whole of Tonga; instead a small number of villages was selected and
125 either all or a sample of the households in each were studied. At the
121 time field-work was undertaken no suitable frame existed for an
overall random sample; but there were also methodological reasons
for the choice of an approach through the village. In an unfamiliar

125 culture it is easier to gain an awareness of the less obvious aspects of
121 man/land relationships when all—or a large number of—households from the same village are studied than when individual, widely-scattered households are surveyed largely in isolation from the community of which they form a part. Furthermore, a geographer is frequently interested in comparisons between areas rather than in data aggregated over a wide area, and village communities, each with its own territory, form convenient units for comparison. Consequently, while an overall random sample survey might have produced results with a higher degree of statistical validity when generalized to the whole of Tonga, this would have been at the cost of a lower level of understanding of some of the complexities of man/land relationships.

121 The main problem in a village approach is the choice of villages. In general, the villages studied were selected in an attempt to determine the effect of one or more variables on other variables in the system of man/land relationships; they were not chosen simply to represent 'typical' Tongan conditions, and therefore the data obtained from them cannot be used to calculate average values for Tonga. In Tongatapu, the four villages surveyed by means of a general household questionnaire were chosen to cover the major variations in population density and land-tenure conditions in the
125 island. The form used included questions on household composition, land, agricultural activities and household income. In Ha'apai the
[731] questions on sources of income were dropped, as a hurricane had largely destroyed cash cropping in the group shortly before the time of field research, and more specialized surveys of land holding and food cropping were carried out instead. No detailed surveys were conducted in Vava'u, partly because of the even greater destruction of cash cropping there, and partly because the emphasis in research was on areas of high population density, and in Vava'u population densities are mostly below the national average.

LAND RESOURCES

133 The three main island groups, Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, are all of raised limestone formation. Tongatapu has a flat to gently undulating surface, with only a few small hills rising just above the tops of the coconut palms. The islands of Ha'apai are small, low and scattered, except for the outlying high volcanic peaks of Tofua and

128 pressure. As the term is used here, 'population pressure' implies the
[121] existence of stress in the man/land system resulting from increases in
population density, stress being indicated by a deterioration in some
of the variables in the system, such as a decline in the nutrient status
of the soil or an increase in land disputes (Farmer, 1954; Lea, 1964,
1965; Street, 1969; Vermeer 1970). The following sections therefore
examine three aspects of the man/land system—land tenure, the
agricultural system, and the human perception of and reponse to
population pressure—to see if there are any indications of stress.
Analysis of the effect of population density is mostly through a
comparison of areas of different density, chosen so that other independent
variables are reasonably constant. For example, study of
the effect of population density on the food cropping system is
confined to Tongatapu and Ha'apai, for within these two groups
climatic and soil conditions are broadly similar, but are different to
those in Vava'u.

LAND TENURE

423 The land-tenure system of Tonga is highly distinctive, differing in a
171 number of respects from the systems found in other parts of the
Pacific Islands. Every taxpayer (every male aged 16 years and over)
423 is entitled by law to an allotment of 3·2ha of agricultural land,
known as a tax allotment, as well as a small piece of land in a village
423 or town for his house. These allotments are granted to individuals
as a lifetime, inheritable leasehold from the Government, if on a
427 Government estate, or from the title-holder on a chiefly estate, and
no one may legally hold more than one allotment of each type.

423 In reality, however, many Tongan men do not have the allotment
to which they are entitled. In the 1966 Census only 8,305 or 41·6
423 per cent of all Tongan males aged 16 and over stated that they had
162 a tax allotment. Although this figure conflicts with the 1966 Report
127 of the Lands and Survey Department, which recorded the total
number of tax allotment holders in December 1966 as 12,517
(G. Rogers, 1969, 216), this latter figure is almost certainly incorrect.
423 A more detailed impression of landholding is given in Table 7.2,
128 which presents the results of a number of village studies. The table
shows that in only one village, Niutoua, did over half the taxpayers
have their legal entitlement, while in most villages a large proportion
592 of taxpayers and households had no land at all. It should be noted

from one to ten or more years, depending on population density. 241
Of the two main cash crops bananas are often incorporated into this 241
bush fallow system, being planted as part of the cropping sequence 245
and yielding for only a couple of years before the land returns to
bush; but during the last few years they have increasingly been
grown in separate plantations, and chemical fertilizers are now being
used both to improve yields and to extend the life of the plot. The
other main cash crop, coconuts, is unevenly scattered over all or
part of each allotment, with the food-crop gardens being rotated
amongst them. The effect of population density on this system will 121
be examined from two perspectives, the ecological and the economic.

An ecological assessment

In Ha'apai, where the agricultural system is under the greatest 241
pressure from high population density, the cropping period is now 182
usually from three to five years, compared with the two or three
years common elsewhere, while the fallow period is generally from
only one to three or four years compared with three to five years
elsewhere. Many farmers in Ha'apai are using shorter fallows than
when they began farming, a common change reported amongst older
men being a reduction to half the earlier fallow length. The food-crop
pattern has also changed with the increase in population density.
In areas of high density, cassava has become the staple food crop [244]
while yams, the most preferred tuber for eating, are now much less
frequently grown. Cassava gives good yields even on heavily-cropped
soils and does not require a lengthy fallow, and also yields more per
man-hour of labour than the other food crops.

The response of Tongan farmers to population growth has therefore been to reduce fallow periods, lengthen cropping periods and
alter the food-crop pattern, and these changes are most pronounced
in Ha'apai. There the agricultural system is now fairly intensive by [161]
the standards of shifting cultivation, with a cropping period/fallow
period ratio of around 1 : 1, and supports population densities of up
to about $280/km^2$ (cf. Nye and Greenland, 1960, 128). Yet despite
the probable doubling in the intensity of cropping over the last 30
to 40 years there has been no change in the bush fallow technique of
maintaining soil fertility, and one might therefore expect to find
symptoms of ecological stress within the system.

An examination of possible areas of stress, however, suggests the
existence of as yet only minor problems. There has been some [137]

433 The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of
182 economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to
have become a limiting factor in production given the present level
of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary
according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita*
banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than
that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas
[128] are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including
studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

121 To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections
consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population
121 density? An attempt was made during field-work in western
Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to
124 which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land,
concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as
182 these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-
settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to
511 borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-making.
Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed
to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to
support, and most considered their income sufficient for their
[124] essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with
$A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would
spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or
education for their children.

121 However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better
determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a
182 number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of
166 these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for
182 instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of
allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir
423 to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response
by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs,
to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated
182 effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agri-
241 culture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

166 The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive
182 response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic
reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn
166 money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the
182 influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within
161 Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island
162 tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density
[311] (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend
(circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby
high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are
182 therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the
higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly
511 those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-
245 crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the
464 fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to
coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group
166 have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in
Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments,
182 and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of
obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had
left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who
[731] already held land on the island. Employment following education
on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

CONCLUSION

● 121 In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of
182 the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were
found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of
the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

to the presence of mild population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. 121
These problems, however, are as much a result of the failure to 182
adapt the man/land system to cope with rising population densities
as of population growth alone. Improvements are possible in land
tenure, for instance to ensure that land is only allocated to those who
can make good use of it, and in agriculture, through the adoption
of new techniques in both food and cash cropping; while changes in
the market for cash crops and in the availability and location of
non-agricultural employment would also produce changes in the
degree of population pressure in Tonga.

To what extent can the material discussed in this case study of 121
Tonga be used in an assessment of the ideas of Boserup and Geertz,
both of whom have been concerned with the effect of population
growth on traditional agricultural systems? Boserup (1965) argues
that the intensification of agriculture, because it involves more
labour-intensive techniques and a decrease in mean output per
man-hour, only occurs when forced by population pressure. Geertz
(1963), on the other hand, in his study of Indonesian economic
history, draws a distinction between *sawah* agriculture, a stable
system in which increases in population can be easily absorbed by
intensification without harm to the environment, and shifting cultivation,
a potentially unstable system highly susceptible to ecological
breakdown if intensified in response to population growth. For
Boserup agricultural systems of varying intensity from forest-fallow
cultivation to multi-cropping lie along the one continuum, while for
Geertz shifting cultivation and *sawah* agriculture are unrelated
systems with different responses to population pressure.

Taking Geertz's contribution first, it is evident that while there 121
are some signs of mild pressure in Tongan agriculture there is no 241
indication of an impending ecological crisis, despite the doubling in 182
the intensity of cropping over the last 30 to 40 years, and the Tongan 171
system appears much better able to withstand population growth
and intensification than the shifting cultivation model described by
Geertz. For this there are several possible explanations. Firstly, there
are some differences between the Tongan system and the south-east
Asian examples on which Geertz's model is based. In south-east Asia
the staple crop is rice, whereas the Tongan system is based on tubers,
which may help to maintain soil fertility during cropping by providing
a better cover for the soil surface, even though the patterns
of inter-cropping and crop succession in Tonga are very simple. In

In
121 addition, the agricultural environment in Tonga is much more
241 favourable for intensive cropping than are the environments in which
182 shifting cultivation is carried on in south-east Asia, for the soils,
171 derived from recent volcanic materials and not subject to heavy
[134] leaching, are of high inherent fertility. Although no yield measurements have been made, the decline in yields between the first and
second cropping of a plot is certainly nowhere near the 80 per cent
121 drop reported by Geertz (1963, 23) from south Sumatra. Geertz's
characterization of shifting cultivation applies to only one type
amongst many, and to only one environment amongst the many in
which this agricultural system is carried on.

[114] Following from this, I feel that Geertz, perhaps because he has confined his examples to south-east Asia, overestimates the fragility of shifting cultivation and the narrowness of the demographic limits within which it is a stable system. Nye and Greenland (1960, 129), for example, demonstrate that it is possible to crop at varying levels of intensity, and consequently of soil fertility, without catastrophic consequences to the soil. Up to a limit, which varies with the type of shifting cultivation and the environment, decreases in yield as a result of an increase in the intensity of cropping may be more than offset by increases in overall production because of the longer period
121 of cropping. This limit has certainly not been reached in Tonga,
241 where the agricultural system has a greater degree of flexibility in
response to population growth than Geertz admits for shifting culti-
182 vation systems.

On *prima facie* evidence, Ester Boserup's thesis more closely fits the Tongan situation, and her contention that differences in agricultural intensity are the consequence of differences in population density is supported by the material discussed earlier. However, the intensification of Tongan agriculture in response to population growth has not stimulated any basic improvements in the bush fallow technique of maintaining soil fertility except amongst strongly-commercialized farmers. It is important to an assessment of Boserup's thesis that this lack of change be explained; and two types of explanation are possible.

The first involves a consideration of the conditions under which population growth may fail to stimulate technological advance. Boserup does not claim that intensification will always lead to the adoption of new methods, and suggests several situations where failure is possible, some of which could apply to Tonga at present.

121 Firstly, under conditions of rapid population growth the rate at
182 which the intensity of cropping increases may well be higher than
241 the rate at which farmers are able to change their traditional
methods and their accustomed habits of work. The examples drawn
[171] on by Boserup to support her thesis are of populations undergoing
slower rates of growth than have been recently experienced in Tonga,
or in many of the developing countries, and this somewhat reduces
the value of her thesis under contemporary conditions. However,
observation and questioning in Tonga do not suggest the rate of
population growth to be a major reason for the failure to adopt new
methods of soil fertility maintenance. Secondly, failure is possible
where farmers have no knowledge of the techniques which could be
121 adopted. In Tonga the only new technique known to farmers is the
182 use of chemical fertilizers, which because of their cost have so far
241 been used only with cash crops, whereas many African and Asian
shifting cultivators have had a knowledge of other methods or
171 contact with peoples practising more advanced systems of traditional
agriculture.*

121 A third possible situation in which population pressure may fail
182 to produce corresponding technological advances in agriculture is
241 where institutional problems reduce the farmer's incentive, or ability,
[171] to undertake improvements. Boserup, for example, in a discussion
of investment under landlord tenure, argues that the disorganization
of the feudal land-tenure system of India during the colonial period,
by slowing down investment in land improvement, especially irrigation facilities, helped to prevent agricultural output from responding
121 to population growth. In Tonga the customs relating to land could
182 produce a similar result. While land is individually held and the
security of tenure good, land borrowing, sanctioned by custom, is
241 widespread and requests for land are not necessarily made only to
423 those who have it to spare. Consequently farmers do not have full
control over the use of their land, and although field work indicates
that this is not yet a reason for the failure to adopt new methods,
farmers may in the future be reluctant to make an investment in
improved techniques if the benefit of their investment may be gained
by someone else.†

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* In both these cases the failure to adopt new techniques could lead to the ecological collapse described by Geertz, particularly in drier environments where regeneration of the fallow vegetation is more difficult.

† See also the comments of Waddell (this volume) on the relation of investment in improvements to tenacity of land tenure.

121 While the second of the three situations outlined above is a
182 possible explanation of the failure to improve agricultural techniques
241 in Tonga, another type of explanation—that such improvements are
not yet necessary—seems most likely to be correct. As suggested
182 earlier, the soils are of high inherent fertility, and shifting cultivation
241 systems can withstand a good deal of intensification before fundamental
changes are essential. The adoption of cassava and dryland
[407] varieties of taro, both of which were introduced into Tonga in the
nineteenth century, has helped to maintain yields per man-hour as cropping has been intensified, while the adoption of the metal push-hoe has enabled farmers to cope with the changes in the fallow vegetation. Such adaptations in the agricultural system may well be sufficient at the present level of intensity. The symptoms of population pressure are still mild, and the main pressures felt by Tongans, to judge from the material on land problems and migration, are in
[114] cash cropping rather than in the food-cropping system. Acceptance
[121] of this explanation would thus leave Boserup's thesis in the category
of 'not proven', but probable.

However, the fact that the most significant changes in Tongan agriculture, involving such practices as machine preparation of land and the use of chemical fertilizers, have occurred in Tongatapu amongst farmers heavily engaged in cash cropping rather than amongst the less commercialized farmers in more densely-populated Ha'apai, suggests one major qualification to her argument. While land shortage has undoubtedly been a factor in these changes, for they began about the time when land ceased to be easily obtainable in Tongatapu, they indicate that commercialization is also a stimulus to the adoption of improved techniques. Population pressure, as noted above, is felt mostly in cash cropping rather than in food cropping. The income received from cash cropping makes it feasible to purchase industrial inputs such as fertilizers, while changes in cash cropping have repercussions throughout the agricultural system.
182 The increase in the area planted in cash crops, for instance, intensifies
241 the pressure on the bush fallow system, but where food crops are
intercultivated with a cash crop like bananas, as is frequently the
245 case, the former benefit from the fertilizer used for the latter, thus
making it possible to lengthen the cropping period and reduce the role of the bush fallow. With coconuts, a long-term crop, the need to control bush growth conflicts with the traditional practice of bush fallowing, and the achievement of higher productivity in coconut

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS 124
the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral 114
testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the 538
major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions 533
may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accom- 533
panied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where 535
I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men [114]
and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*, relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in 1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concern- 814
ed or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly [565]
rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions [554]
as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and 121

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[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright [113]
(London, 1965), 51-2.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 all that need be said here about it is that at present the climate of opinion among scholars is more favourable to their use in historical research. The voices of men such as Robert Lowie, who once declared that he could not 'attach to oral tradition any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever',[2] and of B. Malinowski and his fellow functionalists, no longer seem to receive a sympathetic hearing. On the other hand works based on a critical use of oral traditions, such as those of John Barnes in his reconstructions of the political structure of the Ngoni and Raymond Firth's *History and Traditions of Tikopia*,[3] are widely acclaimed by scholars.

While accepting the view that no absolute truth can be expected from oral traditions since those who preserve them probably do so for reasons of social, economic or political advantage, and while agreeing with Malinowski that distortion results from the sociological functions of current historical traditions,[4] I could not accept the argument that they have no historical value whatsoever. McCall is correct in saying that 'to recognize the limitations of the use of traditions is not the same as denying their value'.[5] If social scientists were seeking only bias-free evidence they would have very little indeed to go on, even with written documents. The question that confronted me, therefore, was not whether to ignore or use oral traditions, but rather how, in using them, distortions could be detected and the likely sources of bias given proper recognition.

One of the first requirements for successful use of oral traditions is a
124 good knowledge of the local language. This has been one of the handicaps
[114] suffered by many foreign investigators who have worked in Tonga. I had the advantage of being able to work in my own language. There can be distortions introduced through the use of interpreters, particularly where educated and reliable ones are hard to come by. At least a working knowledge of the language can avoid some unnecessary embarrassments. R. C. Suggs tells how once in the Marquesas he 'met a poor fellow who had a long vocabulary list of what he considered essential words such as "bread", "egg", "water" etc. The list was actually one of obscenities—his informants had given him the word for penis in place of bread, testicle in place of
124 114 egg, semen for water, etc.'.[6] A similar thing occurred in Tonga in an

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[113] [2] R. Lowie, 'Oral Tradition and History', *Journal of American Folklore*, XXX (1917), 161-7.

[113] [3] J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society* (London, 1954); R. Firth, *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (Wellington, 1961).

[113] [4] R. Firth (ed.), *Man and Culture. An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (London, 1957), 21.

[113] [5] D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective: a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources* (Boston, 1965), 54.

[113] [6] R. C. Suggs, *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia* (London, 1963), 111.

archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's 124
monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui 114
Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'.[7] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for 121
correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator 124
might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In
Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and 814
they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a 554
source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as *'tangata 'ilo'*. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965 I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it
was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told 217
them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available
to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it 114
should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

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[7] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15. B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929), 53. 113

173 sickening smell called *ngahu*. She complained of being sickened by its smell
643 and from that time on the island became known as Luangahu (*lua*—sick or
vomit; hence 'sickened by *ngahu*'). Later she was taken to another small
island where she actually became sick and this place is still known as Lauhoko,
meaning 'actually vomiting'. From there they went to yet another
island where they spent the night and this time she awoke with pains. This
island is still known as Ofolanga which means 'awaken by pains'. They
hurried back to 'Uiha but could not get there in time, so they called at
Lifuka and there, on the beach, she gave birth. This spot is called Niu'ui
(*niu*—coconut, *ui*—call) which is supposed to be due to people calling out
[124] for a coconut with which to prepare a baby food. The 'Uiha people's version
was supported by Siola'ā Soakai, a very knowledgable *matāpule* at
Pangai, Lifuka, who recalled a speech delivered by Tu'ipelehake, the grandfather
of the late Queen Sālote, at the opening of the hospital which is now
situated at Nui'ui, in which comment had been made on the appropriateness
of a hospital site built upon the very spot where Tāufa'āhau's afterbirth
[776] was buried. It is interesting to note that the Ha'apai people are also
able to account for the name Tāufa'āhau, since there was a local god named
173 Tāufa-i-tahi who lived at a place called 'Āhau on Lifuka as well. The discrepancies
between these oral traditions may become a subject of heated
[578] discussion at some of the national ceremonies when people from various
parts of Tonga congregate. As a result people of one locality are usually
aware of the existence of different versions elsewhere, even though they
may not know the details, and in any case are usually convinced that their
own version is the 'correct one'!

[121] Oral traditions can be of great value to the historian when they are used
cautiously and efforts are made to detect the sources of distortion in them.
In some instances they provided information about periods of Tongan history
173 for which no written sources existed. One of these happened to be one
669 of the most important wars in Tonga which was crucial in deciding the fate
of the two rival royal dynasties, the *Tu'i Tonga* and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu*.
It took place during a period when there were no Europeans such as William
Mariner or Vason to give eye-witness accounts, although it was after
these men's sojourn in Tonga. Thus the oral traditions were the only existing
173 source of information on the events of 1825 and 1826. The different
124 accounts of the war which I obtained were inevitably coloured by personal
and group biases. After recording several different versions, I was faced
[128] with the task of checking and cross-checking them in an attempt to arrive
at what I believed to be closest to the truth.

173 The 'Uiha people played down considerably in their version of the war
669

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding heroes. 669 Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors, and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people, were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself, as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants 124
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered 669
a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva intervened, 643
and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga's* warriors, felling scores of them [726]
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and [643]
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the [553] [103]
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a [565]
noble title.

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few [121]
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. [121]
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fortress, [797]
god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following [798]
account in his history of Tonga: [643]

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. [113]

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achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797
warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643
Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539]
until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [114]
and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [114]
soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to [798]
build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masilameans which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background information put the event in perspective and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

121 In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

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A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Toujafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

[iv cont.]

114 121 The British legislature did not send out and liberally support my father as a naturalist, who was merely to bring home a collection of butterflies and dried plants. That superior wisdom which guides the counsels of this nation, induced many persons of considerable distinction to act on this occasion with unexampled greatness. So far from prescribing rules for his conduct, they conceived that the man whom they had chosen, prompted by his natural love of science, would endeavour to derive the greatest possible advantages to learning from his voyage. He was only therefore directed to exercise all his talents, and to extend his observations to every remarkable object. From him they expected a philosophical history of the voyage, free from prejudice and vulgar error, where human nature should be represented without any adherence to fallacious systems, and upon the principles of general philanthropy; in short, an account written upon a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed. [v]

114 My father performed the voyage, and collected his observations agreeably to the ideas which had thus been entertained of him. Fully resolved to complete the purpose of his mission, and to communicate his discoveries to the public, and not allowing himself any time to rest from the fatigues which he had undergone, he inscribed and presented the first specimen of his labours to his majesty within four months after his return (1). The history of the voyage, the principal performance which was demanded at his hands, next engrossed his whole attention. It was at first proposed, that from his own and captain Cook's journals a single narrative should be composed, in which the

[113] 1. Characteres Generum Plantarum quas in Insulis maris australis colleg. & c. Joannes Reinoldus Forster, LL.D. & Georgius Forster. 4to. Lond. 1776.

[xi cont.]

114 unite into a whole; and the rage of hunting after facts soon rendered them incapable of forming and resolving a single proposition; like those minute enquirers, whose life is wholly spent in the anatomical dissection of flies, from whence they never draw a single conclusion for the use of mankind, or even of brutes. Besides this, two travellers seldom saw the same object in the same manner, and each reported the fact differently, according to his sensations, [xii] and his peculiar mode of thinking. It was therefore necessary to be acquainted with the
114 observer, before any use could be made of his observations. The traveller
121 was no longer to trust to chance for a variety of occurrences, but to make use of his first discovery, as the thread of Ariadne, by the help of which he might guide his steps through the labyrinth of human knowledge. It was therefore requisite that he should have penetration sufficient to combine different facts, and to form general views from thence, which might in some measure guide him to new discoveries, and
121 point out the proper objects of farther investigation. This was the
128 idea with which I embarked on the late voyage round the world, and agreeably to which I have collected materials for the present publication, as far as the time, my situation and abilities, would permit. I have always endeavoured in this narrative to connect the ideas arising from different occurrences, in order, if possible, to throw more light upon the nature of the human mind, and to lift the soul into that exalted station, from whence the extensive view must
128 "justify the ways of God to man." Whether I have succeeded or failed in the attempt, remains to be decided; but the rectitude of the intention cannot, I trust, be misconstrued. I have sometimes obeyed the powerful dictates of my heart, and given voice to my feelings;

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

121 [114] In this dissertation the fit between behavior and a conscious model for behavior is examined. The data utilized in this study were obtained in Tonga as part of my research on the topics of village economies and kinship reciprocity.

The study of the relationship between ideals and behavior is one of considerable importance. I think it is evident that some social scientists operate as if conscious models and behavior reflect the same reality or else they do not consider the problem at all. Later I will give examples of how such positions have led to misleading statements about Tongan kinship and exchange. It is also true that people may think their conscious model of some area of behavior reflects the behavior pattern actually present in that area. For instance, Tongans believe that their pattern of behavior in their relationships with kinsmen conforms to their model of kinship reciprocity. By examining the fit between ideals, conscious models, and behavior, something valuable may be learned about both folk and scientific conceptualization of social reality. [602] [829]

In addition to the problem established above, this study includes description and analysis of Tongan kinship. As will be evident later

121 a fairly complete discussion of Tongan kinship is relevant, not only because of its obvious relationship to the primary problem, but also because of the incomplete status of research on Tongan kinship and nonunilineal descent generally. In this study a new interpretation of Tongan kinship is presented based on field data I collected and on data presented by other authors concerned with the topic.

Also included in this study are data on forms of exchange other than reciprocity and other aspects of village economies. I have done so to provide the reader with some knowledge of the context within which kinship reciprocity occurs and to contribute some original material to the study of modern Polynesian economies.

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128 In the remainder of Chapter I, I will further define and discuss the primary problem. I will also describe how the problem was operationalized and how the relevant data were obtained. Chapter II provides orientation to the general physical, economic, and socio-political characteristics of Tonga. In Chapter III Tongan kinship is described and analyzed. The process of adoption is examined to present a detailed account of the sentiments and values of kinship as they affect individuals and families in Chapter IV. Chapter V is primarily a description of economy at the village and individual levels and provides information about several types of exchange. In Chapter VI I present the conscious model of Tongan kinship reciprocity and compare it to the behavior patterns of kinship reciprocity found in the exchange of goods and in the exchange of children (adoption).

The Theoretical Context

121 The problem of levels of cultural reality and the nature and degree of correspondence between levels has been a persistent subject of discourse in the history of social science and philosophy. It is my intent in this study to compare the patterns existing in two levels of culture-the ideological level and the phenomenal level. In one sense this may be called a study for cultural integration: an investigation into the degree of fit between the "is" and the "ought", between actual behavior and the professed ideal.

A problem always exists in using a concept of culture that includes a division of culture into levels; therefore, some discussion is warranted. The criterion I am using to distinguish levels is abstraction, i.e., one level, the ideological, only exists in the abstract while the other, the phenomenal level, is directly observable. The phenomenal level may perfectly reflect the ideological level but not necessarily so. An example may clarify the distinction. If I were to ask a Tongan informant how Tongans choose where to reside after marriage he would probably say that Tongan men reside in the village of their fathers and women give up residence in the village of their parents so that they may live with their husbands. After observing the residence choices of several families, I conclude that only some 40 percent of the families conform to what my informant told me. Several questions arise: Did my informant lie? Was he ignorant of this aspect of his own society? Were my observations executed properly? Did my sample actually reflect the predominant pattern of residence? Further

121 investigation reveals that my original observations were correct and that the answer of the first informant can be corroborated by almost any adult Tongan. So the problem is not one of methodological error, it is a problem of the presence of two realms of order, a conscious model and a behavior pattern, both equally real, equally relevant for scientific inquiry.

In the works of theoretical anthropology there are several statements concerning the relationship between ideals and behavior. Levi-Strauss, broaching the problem of using norms as explanations, states "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms', are by definition very poor ones, since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). However, Levi-Strauss assigns considerable importance to the investigation of conformity between norms and behavior stating that "...even if models are biased or erroneous, the very bias and type of error are a part of the facts under study and probably rank among the most significant ones" (1968: 282).

David Bidney has also tried his hand at defining the relationship between the real and the ideal.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts', but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1953: 418-419).

In another passage Bidney outlines the interdependence of these two realms of order.

> Normative, ideational culture has no effective existence unless it is practiced and influences social behavior. Practical culture, the actual behavior and thoughts of persons, is not intelli-

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> gible apart from the postulates and ideals which men have conceived for themselves. Epistemically, a culture as a whole is said to be integrated insofar as there is conformity between the actual behavior of its adherents and their professed ideals, between their theory and their practice (1953: 377).

Both Levi-Strauss and Bidney post a meaningful relationship between norms and behavior, but neither expects a high degree of coordination between the two levels. Bidney does claim some explanatory capability for normative culture, but Levi-Strauss doubts that capacity.

Operationalizing the Problem

At this point I would like to introduce Allan Howard's concept of activity system to facilitate the discussion of the problem at the level of observation and data collection. In defining activity system Howard states:

> Instead of conceiving of a society as having a social structure I would suggest we conceive of social behavior as being structured by participation in given activities within which behavioral choices are regular and predictable. Our 'system' would then best be regarded as activity systems, the relevant units being the principles (or, methodologically, factors) that are predictive of choice among behavioral alternatives (1963: 410).

The principles used in decision making Howard calls cultural principles and says they can be obtained by finding the consensus of opinions on how an activity ought to be carried out. These principles taken together would constitute a decision model of ideals (1963: 410-411).

The problem in this study is to determine the relationship between cultural principles and patterns of behavior within one activity system, kinship reciprocity. The questions being asked are: From

121 knowledge of cultural principles can one expect to predict behavior patterns? If not, what is the relationship between cultural principles and behavior? To begin answering these questions, two bodies of data are used: (1) a conscious model constructed from cultural principles relevant to kinship reciprocity, and (2) a behavioral pattern constructed from observed events.

121
602 The Tongan conscious model of kinship reciprocity depicts a flow of goods based on the ranking of kinship categories. These data exist at the conscious level; they do not include inferences concerning the subconscious of social actors. In the text of this paper I use the terms ideological model and conscious model to refer to the pattern or kinship reciprocity described by cultural principles. The term, model, as used here means a representation of a behavioral pattern. [128]

The phenomenal level of kinship reciprocity is represented by a behavioral pattern constucted from a sample of exchange events occurring between kinsmen. The behavioral pattern does not constitute a model as it is built up from the data; i.e., it is not a model of kinship reciprocity; it is kinship reciprocity.

Sampling Units and Samples

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125 Exchange events are the sampling units and are defined as all transfers of goods or services from one principal to another in which rights of ownership and/or usufruct are also transferred. Two samples of exchange events were obtained from one village. A stratified random sample, sample A, was drawn by selecting twenty household heads [124]

125 through a procedure of random draws; methodologically, each household
121 124 head was considered to be a single stratum. For each household head
selected, all exchange events in which he or she was a principal were
recorded for a period of five days. With five days being recorded for
each of twenty informants, a one hundred-day record of exchanges was
obtained. All one hundred days were recorded in one two-week period
with the days recorded for each informant determined by his
[656] availability. Sundays were excluded from the sample as the government outlaws
[529] most economic activities on the Sabbath. Sample A, then, was used to
obtain information on all types of exchanges including purchasing,
trading, and gift-giving. This sample was also used to gather data on
household incomes, consumption patterns, and household inventories.

A second stratified, random sample, sample B, was drawn by utilizing all household heads in the village, each informant being a single stratum. The procedure in this instance was to visit each informant at approximately two-week intervals and record information on four exchange events, two in which the informant had been a recipient and two in which he had been the donor. All exchange events in this sample involve material items or money where money was transferred as a gift or loan. Sample, B, then, consists only of exchange events that are instances of reciprocity, and is used to analyze the patterns of reciprocity.

121 Samples A and B were both obtained in the village of Puke which
125 was the scene of most of the research for this study. Puke is described
[101] in Chapter II. The samples are representative of exchange events

121 125 involving residents of that village during the active research period.

121 124 125 A sample of adoption transactions was obtained in another village by an exhaustive sample of households. In each household the household head or his spouse was asked about the adoptive status of each of their children. Then information pertaining to the adoptive status of the household head and his siblings was obtained along with the same information for his spouse. The sample of adoptions and sample B discussed above provide the data for the behavioral patterns presented in Chapter VI. These samples will be more fully described where they are relevant to description or analysis.

[123] The conscious model of kinship reciprocity consists of data collected using the informal technique of participant-observation. In this case the conscious model was elicited again and again under various circumstances and from many different informants. The conscious model as presented in Chapter VI is a standardized version of ideals generally recognizable by members of the Tongan community. I think it safe to say that the conscious model is shared and accepted throughout Tongan society.

Field Techniques and Circumstances

114 101 Active research in the village selected as the research location began in December, 1970, and ended in September, 1971: throughout this period I had almost daily contact with the residents of this village.
123 I used the technique of participant-observation to collect data on several topics including social structure, kinship, subsistence, adop-

114 115 capable helpers, who were themselves constantly available as informants.

122 My own lack of competence in the Tongan language was a limiting
[124] factor but I was able to conduct inquiry into certain area in Tongan,
[125] primarily kinship and exchange, and I could administer the survey
questionnaires. Only two of the adults in the village had any degree
[124] of competence in English, and both were usually unavailable as interpreters or informants.

121 The village I chose in which to conduct the study was selected primarily because of its convenient location and relatively small size.[3] A Puke is atypical of Tongatapu villages as it includes many recent immigrants from relatively isolated areas of the Kingdom, and can be generally described as one of the less developed villages. However, these characteristics of the village were only known in retrospect and it was not chosen because of them.

A.[For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

794 at least three hours per week for choir practice:

Monday	5:00 - 6:00 p.m.	Prayer Meeting
Tuesday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Sermon
Wednesday	--------	
Thursday	--------	
Friday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Prayer Meeting
Saturday	--------	
Sunday	6:00 - 7:00 a.m.	Prayer Meeting
	10:00 -11:00 a.m.	Sermon
	1:00 - 2:00	Sunday School
	3:00 - 4:00 p.m.	Sermon

Summary

● 121 128 In this chapter I have provided a general introduction to Tonga and outlined what I consider to be important aspects of Tongan village life. This information is important in understanding the context within which exchange and reciprocity occur. Through the data presented here I tried to demonstrate that Puke can be considered typical of Tongan villages in some ways and atypical in others. [369] If I were to limit myself to a few key phrases in describing Puke relative to other villages, I would say it is a small, well-integrated village, relatively backward in terms of its technology, and isolated not by geography, but by the traditional and rural life style of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS OF KINSHIP

602 128 602 The Tongans' conscious model of kinship reciprocity is based upon their concept of the relative rank between kinsmen. In this chapter I will describe the concept of kin ranking and the criteria used to establish relative rank. The groups and categories of people formed by Tongan notions of descent, filiation, and affiliation will also be presented and discussed.

The Study of Nonunilineal Descent

●121 611 114 The literature available on Tongan kinship contains conflicting statements concerning the ideology of descent and the nature of groups formed by that ideology. Consequently, I will begin by describing this conflict and discussing it in terms of my observations and analysis.

114 611 Nonunilineal forms of descent have only recently come under detailed discussion by anthropologists; Goodenough (1955,1970), Firth (1957), Murdock (1960), Freeman (1961), Davenport (1959), and Fox (1967) have all contributed substantially to the discussion and understanding of nonunilineal systems. Modern studies of such descent systems have shown the need for a refinement and clarification of concepts used by anthropologists for analysis of kinship. Curiously enough the concept of descent itself has been insufficiently defined and used with a variety of meanings. Ward Goodenough (1970: 39) contends that anthropolo-

114 611 gists have used descent to mean

> ...theories of biological kinship, forms of family organization, rules of kin group membership, and rules of succession to pclitical office and to social and property intitlements as if they were all necessarily reflections of the same thing.

121 611 In this discussion, I will not attempt to define descent generally, but rather I will specify its various meanings and functions as used in this study.

611 Within Tongan society three functions of descent can be conceptually distinguished. The first function of descent is surrounding ego with a personal kindred and defining his relationships to kin categories within the kindred. A second function of descent is structuring the succession to titles and corporeal property. A third, less clear and less definable, function associates ego with a locale and a group of kinsmen residing in the same locale.

114 611 [428] The failure to separate conceptually the function of descent has been a recurring problem in ethnographic reports on Tonga. Gifford (1929) overemphasized the function of inheritance of titles and land and consequently gave a destorted view of Tongan kin ideology.

(613)

> The lineages are patrilineal. Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives; the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners. Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live. Thus the commoners living under the chief, Ata, are reckoned as of his lineage, Ha'a Ngata Motua. The landed chiefs of today are all grouped in lineages (Gifford 1929: 30).

114 611 612 A view opposing that of Gifford's is presented by Beaglehole (1941) and Aoyagi (1966). Both of their accounts stress bilateral reckoning and the personal kindred as the dominant characteristic of Tongan kinship.

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613 Kaeppler is non-commital in discussing the nature of the relationship between the personal kindred and the lineage system. In the quote above she says the two "...can be conceptually distinguished..." and adds the cautious statement that "...there is a great deal of interaction between them." One of Kaeppler's own comments suggests that the distinction between the two is more real than conceptual.

> (428)
> [593]
> [604) Even though a man may inherit a noble's title, together with a great deal of land and material wealth, he still avoids his sister, treats his brother nearly as an equal, defers to his father's sister and gives anything she wants, demands pigs from his mother's brother, and allows his sister's children to take any of his possessions (1971: 177).

This statement comes closer to the position which states that an individual's position in the lineage system has very little to do with his relationship to his kindred.

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128 The discussion above serves to illustrate that Tongan kinship performs several functions and one cannot hope to describe kinship by focusing on one function. Below I will present a description of Tongan kinship based on the data I collected and analyzed with the thought in mind that different kinship functions may be fulfilled by different ideologies and structures.

Kainga: A Personal Kindred

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The *Kāinga* is a true bilateral kindred inclusive of all consanguines to whom ego can trace a relationship either through his mother or his father. *Kāinga* does not include affines. *Kāinga* is not a corporate group, but a body of kinsmen may be recruited from it to act corporately for specific occasions, e.g., weddings, funerals, and

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consequently, have no strong basis on which to maintain a relationship with titled land holders. For the same reason--change in the land tenure--the power of the _'ulumotu'a_ over the members of the _matakali_ has diminished. Individuals no longer need rely on their _'ulumotu'a_ for access to land.

Ha'a: The Criteria for Membership

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In this section I will not fully describe _ha'a_ as Gifford (1929), and Kaeppler (1971), have presented sufficient material on that topic. Here I will only say that _ha'a_ are named groups of titles with the present relationship between titles defined and ranked by the consanguineal relationships existing between the first titleholders. The _ha'a_ are themselves ranked by their genealogical proximity to the first Tu'i Tonga.

613
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(121)
In doing research my interest in _ha'a_ was in discovering whether or not commoners were affiliated with _ha'a_, and if so, how were they affiliated. What I found was that commoners in the village of Puke disclaim affiliation with _ha'a_ except by virtue of residence, i.e., they claimed affiliation to the noble on whose estate they resided. An exception to this was an informant who claimed affiliation with another noble because most of his kinsmen lived on the estate of that noble, and he had only recently lived there himself. However, claiming affiliation and claiming membership are quite different. Commoners in Puke would not say they belonged to the _ha'a_ of their noble.

All legitimate real sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters

431 other people to him; this situation provides both security and some
554 degree of personal power.

431 To assess the combined influence of social distance and geographic
571 distance on exchange, each exchange was categorized as to whether the
602 principals were kinsmen or not, and as to whether they resided in the
same village or not. These two variables are cross-tabulated and presented in Table 17.^A There is a strong tendency for principals residing in different villages also to be kinsmen (Compare cells C and D). However, the reverse is not true: There is a strong tendency for principals residing in the same village to be non-kinsmen. This conclusion
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431 is drawn from the statistics presented below the table. Q measures the
571 one-way association present and is fairly high, while phi, measuring
602 two-way association, is considerably lower. Where λa is .29 when kinship is predicted on the basis of knowledge of location, it is only .05 when location is predicted by knowledge of kinship. λ which considers both of these possibilities is .17, intermediate of the λa values.

● 121 Marshall Sahlins (1965: 149-153) offers an hypothesis suggesting
431 that as geographic distance increases, social distance decreases. I
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602 cannot directly relate my data to his hypothesis as my data show only the frequency distribution within one type of reciprocity. Sahlins' hypothesis requires data fitting his tripartate typology of reciprocity-general, balance, and negative reciprocity. However, my data do illustrate that kinship is an important criterion for selection of exchange partners from among persons residing in different villages.

A.[See p.102--Analyst]

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

128 121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

602 554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of kin ranking. 602 554 114 Although the conscious model I present here is based on primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

> [612] [431] [437] The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly discribes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine [162] [594] individuals. I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years. Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not he expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

● 121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

183 582 581 [673] [684] [656] [848] [428]

585 582 626 183 If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism

585
582 in some situations.
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183 Failure to conform to the conscious model of marriage results in strong legal and social sanctions, and this is a good reason for a high degree of conformity between the marriage model and marriage behavior. 602 In contrast, the conscious model of kinship reciprocity is not enforced 626 by strong sanctions. It seems that conscious models, of themselves, 121 carry no power or authority over the behavior within their respective activity system, rather sanctions, if present, are imposed from without. Conscious models only tell how something ought to be done; they do not establish and administer the penalty for being wrong.

Some conscious models may not function to order empirical phenomena at all. Rather, they provide a conceptual scheme to which only ideas, and not "facts" an be related. Fit or conformity between a conscious model and behavior can, after all, be determined by observation from different [602] perspectives and levels of reality. My Tongan informants thought [829] that exchange between kinsmen proceeded in the manner indicated by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Perhaps the Tongans with their understanding of their own culture are able to "see" that the conscious model is working regardless of the outcome of exchange. Perhaps the conscious model is only supposed to be followed in certain situations which were left unspecified and, therefore, unrecorded.

Possibly a productive way to view conscious models would be to consider them as single components of larger decision-making models. For instance, the Tongan activity system of exchange has a decision-making model which possibly includes the conscious model plus such variables as

121 relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

602 593 431 437 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

[114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

602 593 431 437 114 These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a conclusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and the model.

121 Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

NOTES (Continued)

Chapter V

871 [1]Most schools in Tonga are parochial schools; however, school fees
511 are paid for each child in all schools. Parents must also pay for
434 school uniforms and some school supplies. The total amount varies con-
siderably depending on the school, but between $T15.00 and $T25.00 a
year per child is usually required.

Chapter VI

597 [1]While children are important resources and there is an economic
858 dimension present in adoption transactions, that was not the focus of
121 my analysis of adoption. Rather, I attempted to focus on the social and
psychological aspects of adoption which are the dimensions emphasized by
Tongans.

74: Urbanowicz

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[For general information on ethnohistory, see Category 121; for information concerning the author's use of ethnohistorical methodology, see Category 127.]

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

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000 Acknowledgements are just as important as the body of a text, for both reflect something of the author. I stress, however, that this work is my own and I alone am responsible for any errors of misinterpretation or misrepresentation, either in the data I discuss or of the suggestions and information I have received from so many people over so many years.

My primary acknowledgement is to my dissertation adviser, Dr. [121] Ann G. Simonds. In 1969 Dr. Simonds pointed out and suggested the area of methodology in ethnohistory as an appropriate dissertation topic for Pacific anthropology, since an explicit work on methodology had never been done and was needed. Dr. Simonds has given much and guided me in my work.

My appreciation and acknowledgement next go to the various individuals who have either constituted my dissertation committee over the years or from whom I have profited from course work and advice: My thanks to the Drs. H. G. Barnett, R. P. Chaney, M. McFee, S. A. Pierson, and R. Tonkinson. Dr. Pierson, as the "outside member" from the Department of History, has given freely of his time, encouragement, and suggestions for this work.

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74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Each discipline needs a method. Ethnohistory has a problem in that it lacks an explicit statement of method. There is a distinct need for such a statement.

128 The first duty of the scholar is to present his theories so that the reader understands the basis on which the scholar makes his statements and interpretations. I present my theories and definitions of ethnography, history, and ethnohistory so that there will be no confusion in the reader's mind when I use these, and related, terms.

I present detailed information on the archival sources with which I worked and which provide the examples for the method of ethnohistorical research. The problems, range, and limitations of those sources are discussed as well as explicit details for extracting descriptions relevant to ethnographic problems by means of ethnohistorical method.

The application of ethnohistorical method to archival sources culminates in an ethnographic reconstruction. This dissertation concludes with statements on the value of such ethnographic reconstructions for Oceania anthropology and statements on further problems to be considered by anthropologists. The thesis is presented that ethnohistorical research is scientific.

797 [127] [128] written by these Wesleyan missionaries who were in Tonga in the first half of the 19th Century, the period covered by this research. On the following page is a list of these missionaries with arrival and departure dates.

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Perspectives

> Ethnohistory has come to mean many things to many people, and as the acceptance of the term has spread throughout the learned world the term has acquired new definitions according to the uses to which it is being put (Fenton 1966: 71).

> The emergence of ethnohistory as a recognized field of research is part of the rapprochement between anthropology and history in aims as well as in methods and techniques (Sturtevant 1966: 4).

The rapprochement comes from the fact that the "ethno-" in ethnohistory has the same referent as the "ethno-" in ethnography: it stands for a particular group of people. The "history" in ethnohistory stands for the application of historical method to documents for a specific ethnographic problem. Although every ethnohistorian is first an ethnographer, ethnohistory cannot be called ethnography; and although ethnohistory draws on historical methods, it cannot be called history.

Historical method is a logical process of checking descriptions recorded in the past. It is a scientific process, if by science we mean "capable of ascertaining demonstrable fact" and "if by fact is meant a detail derived from a critical examination of historical documents rather than a detail of past actuality" (Gottschalk 1950: 193; Vide Sturtevant 1966: 4). Because the historical method is to some extent

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970 1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
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121 scientific, the ethnohistorical method discussed in this work is to that extent also scientific.

The application of an historical method to documentary sources by anthropologists is not a 20th Century phenomena. Early 19th century anthropologists such as Maine, Morgan, and Tylor reconstructed the histories of various societies and "drew heavily on historical materials to establish a comparative study of society and culture" (Cohn 1968: 441). A similar point is stressed by Lurie when she writes that "ethnohistory is an old technique and has become an intensified type of endeavor rather than a newly discovered or even revived field" (Lurie 1961: 89).

Modern ethnohistorians, however, do not attempt to present vast culture histories, or theories similar to the 19th Century theorizers who indiscriminately drew their facts from disparate ethnic groups, but concentrate on a specific people for a specific problem. Contemporary ethnohistorical research culminates in ethnohistorical facts and such ethnographic facts of the past result in an ethnographic reconstruction of the past. Such an ethnographic reconstruction is an attempt to present a synchronic, or base-line presentation of the culture in the past. It is an historical ethnography:

> ...the reconstruction of a synchronic, ethnohistorical description of a past stage of a culture, especially a description based on written documents contemporary with that stage (Sturtevant 1966: 7; Vide Fenton 1962: 2).

The validity and truth of an ethnographic reconstruction "rests on an appeal to the evidence" contained within the documents of the past

(Dark 1957: 232). The various descriptions must be extracted, compared, and only accepted as evidence after logical and critical analysis. The documentary descriptions are tested with known and accepted ethnographic evidence. The descriptions are also tested in the context of the time period and new ethnographic evidence can be discovered in manuscript sources written by non-ethnographers.

Every contemporary ethnographer is, in essence, an ethnohistorian, since every ethnographer must read background material prior to beginning research. The ethnographer must weigh and assess previous research reports on the people and decide what is genuine ethnographic evidence in the monograph and what is spurious or in error. Errors in earlier ethnographic reporting can come about either through the ethnographer's preconceived theoretical framework, insufficient methods, or recalcitrant informants. Ethnohistory is thus distinctly related to the rest of anthropological endeavors, and a check of any monograph will reveal published sources (or, at times, manuscript sources), which the anthropologist had to consult in order to place his research into perspective.

In the United States, documentary sources and a type of ethnohistorical method were introduced into anthropology to deal with specific problems concerning the American Indian (Egan 1961; Litton 1955; and Olson 1958). Cohn has pointed out that the period from 1910 to 1930 in the United States was the time when a few anthropologists "used direct historical methods to reconstruct the tribal pasts;" they did ethnographic reconstructions by drawing upon "their field work among the remnants of the tribes of the areas and made extensive use of a wide range of documentary materials" (Cohn 1968: 442). Documentary sources provided information to supplement ethnographic field work (Bauxer 1957: 259ff; Egan 1961; Ewers 1961; Fenton 1952, 1966; Leacock 1961; Locher 1967; Pargellis 1957; Wheeler-Voegelin 1956; and Weltfish 1959: 321ff.).

To date, the earliest printed appearance of a variation on the term ethnohistory in the United States is in the 1909 work edited by Wissler. Wissler did not combine the "ethno-" with the "-historical" but in the "Introduction" to the volume, he wrote of the various contributors:

> In the main, all have followed the same general method of reconstructing the prehistoric culture by welding together the available ethno historical and archaeological data, a method justified by the failure to find neither local evidences of great antiquity nor indications of successive or contemporaneous culture types [stress added] (Wissler 1909: xiii).

From the content of the volume, and as Barreis has accurately pointed out, Wissler's "ethno historical" method, consisted of "the reconstruction of an ethnography of the peoples once resident in the region through the use of cultural data incorporated in the historical narratives" (Barreis 1961: 49; cf. Sturtevant 1966: 7).

Kaplan and Manners have termed the period 1915 to 1935 the time "when the dominant methodological stance in American anthropology was 'historical'" (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 70); this was due to Boas' influence. Riley, writing in a volume entitled American Historical Anthropology, stated that by 1910-1920 "the concepts of historical anthropology were becoming clear" and those concepts "had, in fact, 121 been spelled out by E. Sapir in his, now classic, Time Perspectives [sic.]" (Riley 1967: 18). The "historical" in the compound term did not stand for the application of historical method to ethnographic problems per se, but to the tracing out of changes over time in a particular culture area. This "historical anthropology" was not the ethnographic reconstruction of a historical ethnography, but the culture history of a people in a particular geographic area (Fenton 1966: 71; Steward 1942).

In this phase of American historical anthropology, the emphasis was not on documentary analysis for potential sources of ethnohistorical facts, but on archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological comparisons. This was the approach advocated as early as 1916 by Sapir in his Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: A Study in Method. Sapir only dealt with documentary sources in two pages, and he failed to set out any criterion to be used by future researchers as to how one evaluates the information within the document for ethnographic purposes. This is one critical shortcoming of all ethnographic works which have utilized documents, written by non-ethnographers, for ethnographic purposes: how did the researcher assess the information within the document? What were the ethnographic criteria by which one piece of information was chosen over another and what was the historical method involved?

Swanton's 1932 article entitled "Ethnological Value of the De Soto Narratives" was a pioneering effort to draw ethnographic inferences from non-ethnographic documents, but for the most part ethnohistory in

121 the early 20th Century was concerned with archaeology, linguistics, and comparative ethnology and not documents (*Vide* Redfield 1937, 1955: xii). The eventual convergence of various ethnohistorical research procedures came about in the 1940 *festschrift* volume for Swanton, entitled *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* (*Vide* Cohn 1968: 442). Bushnell wrote "Virginia before Jamestown" (1940: 125-158) and based it on published and manuscript sources written by non-ethnographers. Fenton extensively utilized published and manuscript accounts in writing about the Iroquois (1940: 159-251). Strong combined extracted evidence from documentary sources with archaeological analysis to write "From History to Prehistory in the Northern Great Plains" (1940: 353-394). In the *festscrift* volume Kroeber wrote specifically of Swanton's work:

> No matter how cleverly we may analyze a recent or contemporary culture, we are seeing only one facies of it; and if the tribe that carries it lived elsewhere two or three centuries ago has amalgamated with others, or is known to us in the history of discovery under another name, these are all facts pertinent to full understanding of the culture. The important job of recovering and ordering such [ethnohistorical] facts Swanton has done fully and accurately. *If most of us have mainly shirked it, it is either because we have considered ourselves superior, or because in the excitement of new field data* we have lost sight of all else, or *because we dreaded the unfamiliar stint of handling documents written by nonethnologists*. If I call the kettle black, it is with full acknowledgement of my own sootiness, especially in the last regard. Swanton's flair for *appreciation of a document, and skill in making it mean something*, has stood him in good stead in these matters.... [stress added] (Kroeber 1940: 4).[3]

Even though historical methods were gradually being applied to documents written by non-ethnographers for the extraction of ethnographic information, explicit step-by-step procedural guides were still lacking.

Pacific ethnohistory gradually developed as a result of the Pacific historian's interest in island cultures. Maude (1963), Gilson (1970), and France (1969) are three historians who have worked extensively with archival materials for the solution of specific historical problems.[4]

A recent festschrift for a Pacific anthropologist was entitled Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory (Highland et. al. 1967). Ethnohistory is not specifically mentioned per se, but this is what Oliver discusses in his article, based on manuscript sources, "Friendship Pacts in Ancient Tahiti" (pp. 439-450). Kaeppler began her article on "Preservation and Evolution of Form and Function in Two Types of Tongan Dance" (pp. 503-536) with an historical ethnography, based on published documents, and moved into culture history when she discussed changes over time. In the "Foreword" to the volume, Force pointed out:

> An extremely lucrative source of information on Pacific culture history is archival in nature. The use of documents in reconstruction generally needs to be encouraged. Oliver, in whose contribution we see an example of such use, is one of the stronger proponents of this view (Force 1967: xi:).

Even though various archives do have a potential for ethnographic information, what no one has ever done is to spell out the specific steps and limitations of archival research.[5]

Recent work of an ethnohistorical nature was Holmes' 1958 publication of Ta'u: Stability and Change in a Samoan Village. Holmes combined fieldwork in Samoa in the 1950's with statements of ethnohistorical fact extracted from descriptions in published sources of the 19th Century to discuss "stability and change" from the 19th Century baseline to the 20th Century. However, no explicit statement of ethnohistorical method was made, and Mead (1969: 223-224) was quite critical of Holmes' use of 19th Century documnntary sources. Biggs has written Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction (1960) based on published accounts of the 19th and 20th Century. Although his first chapter is "The need for, and possibility of, historical reconstruction" (pp. 1-11), he does not trace the historical development of Maori marriage but presents a historical ethnography of aboriginal Maori marriage. He gives general steps on his "method of research and interpretation" (pp. 5-10) and allows the reader some criterion by which to judge the reconstruction, for which he is to be commended, but he did not detail these steps sufficiently enough to be used as a model.

Riesenberg's The Native Polity of Ponape (1968), is a detailed historical ethnography of aboriginal Ponape based on extensive analysis of extant manuscript accounts and published sources. It is an excellent example of an ethnographic reconstruction and can serve as a model on how to present the finished research but it is not a model on how to accomplish the research, because Riesenberg did not explicitly state his methods for handling the descriptions in the sources. In an earlier work on "A Pacific Voyager's Hoax" (1959: 238-264) Riesenberg presented an explicit method of handling one type of research problem on documentary sources, and serves as an excellent model for research on this one type of problem. The problem involved a 19th Century author (the Pacific Voyager) who utilized an earlier newspaper account of Ponape in his journal (eventually published) as being his own description. The voyager copied out parts of the newspaper account, embellished on other parts, and the fabrication was accepted by subsequent authors until Riesenberg pointed out the hoax.

Ethnographic reconstructions in the Pacific have recently contributed to empirical tests of generalized anthropological theories, and there is every indication that further reconstructions will provide additional tests. Maranda, for example, has written "Marquesan Social Structure: An Ethnohistorical Contribution" (1964: 301-379) based primarily on two manuscript accounts in the Mitchell Library and published works. Like Riesenberg, Maranda fails to present either an explicit theoretical background for his historical ethnography or details on how he evaluated specific descriptions to make statements of ethnohistorical fact, but this does not negate the validity of Maranda's contribution to an empirical test of Sahlins' work (1957; 1958) on Polynesian cultural adaptations. Briefly, Sahlins has stated his position in the following manner:

> My thesis is that Polynesian cultural differentiation was produced by process of adaptation under varying technological and environmental conditions. A single culture has filled in and adapted to a variety of ecological niches. By clear, strong and close analogy to organic evolution, this process is designated "adaptive differentiation" (Sahlins 1957: 291).

Sahlins included the Marquesas in his Polynesian scheme, and on the basis of published accounts, Sahlins wrote that a particular type of descent group occurs in the Marquesas: a ramage organization (1957: 291). Such a type of social organization develops as a result of ecological factors (1958: 251). Using Sahlins' own taxonomic framework, however, Maranda does not find a ramage type of organization in the Marquesas, but a "descent-line organization" (Maranda 1964: 355) which Sahlins states develops under different ecological conditions. Maranda has completely reversed Sahlins' findings for the Marquesas, in Sahlins' own terminology, with his historical ethnography. Maranda sums up his article:

> The profile of Marquesan society which emerges from the data presented so far is that of a highly flexible society. This does not quite fit the categories previously established for the classification of Polynesian societies (Maranda 1964: 352).

The Maranda-Sahlins confrontation is one of the reasons that an explicit guide is needed for documentary research. Sahlins' research is a classic example of the indiscriminate choosing of ethnographic information from previously published ethnographic and non-ethnographic sources. Although Maranda can be criticized for his failure to explicitly state how he accepted certain documentary statements as ethnographic evidence and rejected others as implausible, Sahlins' research results came about simply because Sahlins "read" into the documents that which he was looking for to support his ecological thesis. This is not ethnohistory, although Sahlins attempts to portray a historical ethnography of Polynesian society (Vide Dening 1966: 30; and Freeman 1964).

Sahlins' work, and a recent publication by Goldman (1970), are other reasons that Polynesian ethnohistory, based on an ethnohistorical analysis of primary eyewitness manuscript materials, needs to be intensified and encouraged. Both Sahlins and Goldman have based works on information gathered over several centuries: they have drawn data from the published accounts of the first Pacific voyagers and from 20th Century trained ethnographers. It is interesting to note, that although Sahlins and Goldman draw on a somewhat similar corpus of published materials, they have divergent interpretations of their data. Where Sahlins "sees" ecology as the prime mover in aboriginal Polynesian society, Goldman "sees" the rivalry between the various lineages as the prime motivation for Polynesian society and achievement. They have not addressed themselves to their differing interpretations, though they are clearly familiar with their divergent views (Vide Sahlins 1957: 130-131; Goldman 1970: 481). This is decidedly a failure of Sahlins' and Goldman's attempt for aboriginal Polynesian reconstructions: they have indiscriminately chosen their documents from a vast span of time with little or no specifics as to why one piece of evidence in one description was chosen over another potential piece of evidence. As Tooker states it:

> Increasingly, anthropologists are turning to historical documents as a source of ethnographic data. As they do so, it becomes more and more apparent that these documents are subject to several different interpretations, the result of the sometimes contradictory, sometimes distorted, and always incomplete data they contain. However, not all possible interpretations are equally plausible and a choice must be made. Currently, this choice rests on implicit

121 criteria. But, although the writing of ethnohistory always will be something of an art, the development of explicit guidelines for analysis of documentary materials can make the decision between alternative interpretations easier, and can serve to prevent some misinterpretation (Tooker 1963: 358).

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS

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> ...for inquiry does not start with a method; it starts with a problem. Thus it is the problem which designates the method, not the method which designates the problem (Northrup 1947, 1959: 20).

121 128 This work presents data and theory necessary to deal with the basic question: what is the research procedure for an ethnographic reconstruction based on archival materials? To date, there has been no work which has specifically stated the precise method used by a researcher to utilize archival materials for ethnographic purposes. What follows is an explication of ethnohistorical method designed to deal with this problem area in anthropology.

121 In 1961, Lurie, an anthropologist who has done ethnohistorical research wrote, "as far as I know, no one has ever set down guides for this type of analysis of documentary accounts" (Lurie 1961: 83). Valentine, another anthropologist who has utilized documentary sources for his own particular ethnographic problem, agreed with Lurie and testified to his own "sense of methodological insecurity" when working with archival or manuscript materials because of the lack of explicit guides (Valentine 1961: 276).[1] "Anthropological ethnohistorians," as Sturtevant writes, not only overlook useful manuscript materials but

121 also are "still too prone to use printed sources uncritically, without comparing editions and searching for the manuscripts which may lie behind them" (Sturtevant 1966: 17). Sturtevant points out that historians have developed methods to weigh and distinguish evidence in documentary sources, and anthropologists could profit from the application of historical method to documentary sources for specific problems in ethnography.[2]

[128] In this work I follow currently accepted anthropological definitions of ethnohistory, and specifically define ethnohistory as the application of historical method to specific problems in ethnography. Ethnohistorical facts eventually serve as ethnographic facts of the past.

Ethnohistorical researchers are not the only anthropologists who are lax in describing their specific methods of research, since ethnographers in general often fail to detail specific research methods. The editors of A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology sum up the situation:

> Methodology within anthropology has always been something of an underdeveloped area. Somehow, by reading, by association, intuition, and being the 'right' kind of person to begin with, a student was traditionally supposed to pick up enough understanding of method to carry out field work or comparative analysis (Cohen and Naroll 1970: 3).

It is my intention to remedy the deficiencies for ethnohistorical research concerning manuscript materials and indicate how data from an
121 ethnographic reconstruction can contribute to anthropology. I deal
128 with two specific problems: how an ethnohistorical method is applied

121 128 to manuscript materials, and how those materials are used for ethnohistorical purposes despite certain limitations in quantity and quality (vide Dening 1966: 27).

121 In stressing the "methodology of an ethnographic reconstruction" I follow Kaplan who writes that methodology means "the study--the description, the explanation, and the justification--of methods" (A. Kaplan 1964: 12). The aim of methodology is to:

> describe and analyze these methods, throwing light on their limitations and resources, clarifying their presuppositions and consequences, relating their potentialities to the twilight zone at the frontiers of knowledge (Ibid.: 23).[3]

Manuscript

127 Every ethnohistorical researcher must ask the following questions for his particular research problem: What data are available? Where are the data located? What is the format of the data? And who was the eyewitness who produced the data? When working with manuscript sources, the researcher must consider the completeness or regularity of the descriptions in the manuscript. The eventual selection of manuscript examined is determined by the hypothesized problem and the resources of time and money.

For this research manuscript materials on Tonga were examined. The Wesleyan missionaries who worked in Tonga in the early part of the 19th Century left behind a great deal of manuscript in English and the main body of manuscript was located in the Mitchell Library of Sydney, Australia. I knew the manuscript materials were located in the

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CHAPTER III

METHODS

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> ...descriptions vary with the conceptual or theoretical framework within which they are couched. To evaluate a description properly one must know something about the theoretical framework that brought it into being (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 22).

The researcher has the obligation to make explicit his theoretical framework so that the reader may be able to distinguish fact from theoretical speculation. Unfortunately, anthropologists have not always made their theories explicit in their works (Kluckhohn 1939: 330; cf. Erasmus and Smith 1967; Leach 1966, 1969: 109).

A theory is a statement formulated to deal with an empirical reality. Theory is to be distinguished from practice and from facts (A. Kaplan 1964: 296), yet it must be stressed that a researcher only develops a specific theory in conjunction with specific facts.

> Theories put phenomena into systems. They are built up 'in reverse'--retroductively. A theory is a cluster of conclusions in search of a premiss. From the observed properties of phenomena the physicist reasons his way towards a keystone idea from which the properties are explicable as a matter of course. The physicist seeks not a set of possible objects, but a set of possible explanations (Hanson 1958, 1965: 90).

121 It will be demonstrated that Hanson's statement pertaining to theories in physics is applicable for theories in anthropology, history, and ethnohistory. For the anthropologist, facts contribute to the keystone idea of culture. For the historian, facts contribute to the keystone idea of event (Vide Goldstein 1962; 1967). The ethnohistorian utilizes both the constructs of culture and event. How these keystone ideas are developed and utilized will be made explicit.

Individuals have come to realize that the theory of the researcher can influence that which is observed and hence influence that which is interpreted as fact from non-fact. Manners and Kaplan have pointed out that ethnographic observation and description are indeed selective:

> what we choose to call "observed" or "ethnographic" facts is very much dependent upon the conceptual or theoretical framework within which the observations are carried on. If nothing else, every ethnographer comes to his observations armed with the conceptual apparatus of the anthropological intellectual tradition (Manners and Kaplan 1968: 5; Vide Kaplan and Manners 1972 op. cit.: 21).

Theoretical framework is also inextricably interwoven with what the individual historian determines as historical facts (Tholfsen 1967: 214-240; Toynbee 1961, 1964: 229-235). The ethnohistorian also has a theoretical framework.

Ethnography

An ethnography is a description of a particular society made by an ethnographer (Kroeber 1948: 5; also see Kroeber 1957). It is a description which focuses on a particular problem in which the ethnographer is interested, and for which various hypotheses are formulated.

121 The ethnographer is a trained investigator who directly observes social and cultural behavior in "particular societies" (Conklin 1968: 172). With the aid of various field guides the ethnographer is not only a passive eyewitness observer of behavior, but the ethnographer can also create situations in order to record specific information or descriptions.

The field ethnographer can ask questions of informants and elicit information other than that which might be casually observed. Hence, the ethnographer "can always generate data on questions which interest him" (Cohn 1970: 96; also see Schapera 1961: 153-154). Ethnographic descriptions are recorded in field notes, and these "newly made documents" result from "face-to-face interviews and observations" (Kroeber 1953, 1963: 4; also see Lewis 1968: xi).

An ethnographer makes his description and from that description he makes an eventual statement of ethnographic fact. An ethnographic fact is thus a specific type of fact about social and cultural behavior. A statement of ethnographic fact (in either verbal, quantitative, or notational form) may at first have a unique referent, but the ethnographer uses the ethnographic facts to discover patterns or regularities in the society (Leach 1954, 1965: xi; and Cohn 1970: 96). By means of theory,the ethnographer attempts to put ethnographic facts into systems which are credible and relevant not only to the ethnographer but also to the people being observed and described.

The ethnographer utilizes the ethnographic facts of a specific society to generalize to a pattern in that society. Such a pattern, for example, might be discerned in the kinship system or in residence rules. Eventually patterns of ethnographic facts from a particular society may be compared with patterns of ethnographic facts from other societies and ethnological comparisons and generalizations are made (*Vide* Conklin 1968; Driver 1968; Leach 1968). Anthropologists attempt to generalize from specific patterns of ethnographic facts for several societies to statements which will be applicable to all men at all times. Anthropology then is concerned with generalizations based upon the particular. These generalizations eventually contribute to the formulation of the keystone idea of anthropologists, culture.

Culture is a construct. Culture consists of the "standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting" (Goodenough 1970: 4). Culture is an idea or a set of rules which an individual has. Anthropologists have come to disregard behavior and material goods as being culture:

> we should note that culture is not a material phenomena; it does not consist of things, people, behavior or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them [stress added] (Goodenough 1957, 1964: 36).

As a construct, culture consists of mental process (via models of interaction) and the results of the process results in social and cultural behavior.[2]

Because culture is a construct, the ethnographer can never observe or study culture directly, but can only make inferences about culture from the observable products of the society. From his descriptions of the products, the ethnographer makes statements of ethnographic fact. Based on these ethnographic facts, he makes an abstract and generalized model of the people's culture, and hence a model of a model.[3]

By inferential analysis, by combining his statements of ethnographic facts with other ethnographic and ethnological data, the ethnographer proceeds from the particular to the abstract. Similar techniques are followed by the historian and the ethnohistorian, for all must work with inference. Where the ethnographer, however, has the ability to cross-check and elicit additional information from informants as evidence for a particular problem, both the historian and ethnohistorian are limited to that which is recorded in the documents. These limitations of the historian and the ethnohistorian are discussed in the following sections of this chapter. However, ethnographers also have limitations in their field data: no one individual has knowledge about everything in a society; informants can fabricate information; and individual informants can refuse to answer questions and can be uncooperative (Vide Evans-Pritchard 1940, 1969: 10-15; Griaule 1965).

History

The historian is an individual who makes a systematic inquiry into past events. History is "the study of the past as a systematic discipline" rather than the actual past events themselves (Hexter 1968: 368). This is a crucial distinction to make, for as Bagby points out, the word history "as it is often used, means not written accounts of certain kinds of events, but the events themselves" (Bagby 1958, 1963: 26; *Vide* Smith 1961: 74).[4]

The historian may only be interested in source materials for descriptions of the past which are idiosyncratic, or "individual concrete, unrepeatable events and entities" (Meyerhoff 1959: 19), yet as Teggart stated it, the descriptions "with which the historian deals are statements made by individuals in regard to the actions of other individuals" (Teggart 1925, 1962: 31). Becker posed the question, "What then is the historical fact?" He replied that the historian "cannot deal directly with this event itself, since the event itself has disappeared." He continued:

> What he can deal with directly is a *statement about the event*. He deals in short not with the event, but with a statement which affirms *the fact that the event occurred*. When we really get down to the hard facts, what the historian is always dealing with is an *affirmation*--an affirmation of the fact that something is true [stress in original] (Becker 1955, in 1959: 124).[5]

This is, perhaps, one of the key distinctions to be made between the ethnographer and the historian: where the ethnographer directly observes and records his own descriptions or records affirmations of informants in direct interviews, the historian can only work with the descriptions as recorded by other individuals. Because the historian does work with descriptions by other individuals, the historian must weigh and assess these various descriptions by means of an historical method.

Historical Method

●121 There is no one historical method, just as there is obviously no one ethnographic field method. The problems of the specific situation influence the choice of eventual method. The historical method of the historian involves the gathering and selection of documents; testing for authenticity of documents; and analyzing and weighing the specific information within the documents (*Vide* Gottschalk 1950; Hockett 1955; and Urban 1955).

The historian does not write a history solely on the basis of the documents, but writes a history on the basis of authenticated evidence contained within the documents. The historian, as with the ethnographer, gathers his evidence by means of checks and balances: by weighing description against description and comparing that which is recorded in the documents with other known evidence. By evidence I mean a single word or an extensive description found within the documents which the historian accepts as credible. Such an acceptance of credibility comes with comparing the particular description with other known and already accepted pieces of evidence. The historian makes inferences from the various eyewitness descriptions in the documents, eyewitness descriptions which have been accepted as evidence, to statements of historical fact. As Collingwood stated it:

> History, then, is a science, but a science of a special kind. It is a science whose business is to study events not accessible to our observation, and to study these events inferentially, arguing to them from something else which is accessible to our observations, and which the historian calls 'evidence' for the events in which he is interested (Collingwood 1946, 1967: 251-252; *Vide* Dibble 1963).

121 In order to determine what could possibly be used as evidence, the historical method requires that the historian consider the personality and background of the author of the document: what was the purpose of the author in making the document in the first place? And what were the biases or prejudices that might have influenced that which the author recorded in the document? He must consider whether or not the author was actually an eyewitness of the event or did the author of the document receive his information from someone else? (Gottschalk 1950: 118-171).

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Tongan Ethnohistorical Materials

The manuscript materials of the Wesleyan missionaries which I examined were not originally recorded for historical nor ethnographic purposes. The missionaries kept records during their stay in Tonga because of organizational requirements, as the Missionary Watkin states:

> In compliance with the 'requirement' I proceed to make extracts from my Journal, which may serve to show the present state of this Mission, and the proceedings of the Missionary who occupies it (Watkin, Letter-Journal, April 10, 1833).

Not all Wesleyan manuscript accounts, however, were simply records of their stay in Tonga. After a certain length of stay in the islands, some of the Wesleyan missionaries set out to elicit specific information from the Tongans. The Wesleyans were familiar with certain of the publications of the time which had information on Tonga, including Cook's published accounts, early missionary accounts (both of the London Missionary Society for the 1797-1800 venture, and Lawry's

127 society (Vide Fenton 1962: 11; Lurie 1961: 89). For the Tongan materials I gathered and analyzed as extensive a corpus of early 19th Century manuscript materials as possible.

121 Even though emphasis in this work is on the application of ethnohistorical method to manuscript, ethnohistorical facts may be derived from several sources. As Vansina has written, "there is no simple rule of 'hard' as opposed to 'soft' data for ethnohistory" (Vansina 1970: 67; also see Vansina 1961, 1965: 10ff.). An ethnohistorical fact is a statement made by an ethnohistorian after critical analysis of evidence in reference to a particular society in the past. A specific ethnohistorical fact may be made after an analysis of oral traditions (as Vansina has demonstrated), after comparing languages, or after analysis of archaeological remains.[6]

127 For manuscript as discussed in this work, an ethnohistorical fact is the ethnohistorian's statement based on tested and proven descriptions, accepted as ethnographic evidence, extracted from the manuscript. One accepts the descriptions as ethnographic evidence of the past only after critical comparison of known and accepted ethnographic evidence with the 19th century eyewitness descriptions. This means that the ethnohistorical researcher must have the requisite ethnographic knowledge about the society being studied and also knowledge on the application of historical method to documents that were not necessarily written for ethnographic purposes. The 19th century descriptions made by the Wesleyans are only accepted as potential ethnohistorical facts of the past after applying ethnographic-ethnological knowledge and

127 [775 [776 On the basis of the descriptions, a statement of ethnohistorical fact for aboriginal Tonga would be: to the aboriginal Tongans, the term 'otua could stand for either a deceased person or an animal totem and 'otua had as its referent for the Tongans either a spirit or a god. This statement is made on the basis of the cited ethnographic evidence.

What Ethnohistory Is Not

121 Extracting and testing all of the 19th Century statements on 'otua and determining that which can be called ethnographic evidence eventually allows the researcher to make a statement of ethnographic fact concerning aboriginal Tongan religion. Ethnohistory is thus the application of historical method to a certain body of documents for the construction of an historical ethnography (p. 7). Ethnohistorians focus on the "ethno-" in the term in presenting an ethnography of the people; the "-history" refers not to the writing of historical changes but to the application of historical method to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past for a particular society.

Ethnohistory is not a study of change per se, although it can eventually contribute to studies of change. The term ethnohistory as used by anthropologists is not synonymous to culture change, as H. Maude, the Pacific historian, has written. Maude has written of the revitalized "partnership" between history and anthropology in the 20th Century and states that "In providing a distinctive approach to the study of culture dynamics it is sometimes termed ethnohistory, particularly in the United States" (Maude 1968: xxi). "Culture dynamics," however, is not

121 ethnohistory since ethnohistorical research culminates in an historical ethnography and cultural dynamics is concerned with tracing out the historical development of a people.

This historical development is what Maude was referring to when he did his excellent work on the Gilbertese boti, a seating arrangement of a clan in the Gilbert Islands. On the boti he wrote, that if it "is to be correctly interpreted," one must do it "by ethnohistorical techniques, or not at all" (Maude 1963: 9). Maude wrote this because the boti had changed over time and the statements made by the Gilbertese from memory were not as reliable as descriptions extracted from ethnohistorical data. Maude's ethnohistorical data included traditions, genealogies, 19th and 20th Century publications and manuscript sources. With his ethnohistorical techniques Maude detailed the changes in the boti and he summarized his work:

> This paper then represents an historian's attempt to test a methodological point: that a process of ethnohistorical reconstruction may help us to gain a truer process of culture, or some part of it, than we can expect to obtain by direct field observation and interrogation alone [stress added] (ibid., p. 54).

In his work, Maude is not talking about ethnohistory contributing to a synchronic historical ethnography but is referring to ethnohistory contributing to our understanding of the "processes" of culture, or "culture dynamics."

In his ethnohistorical reconstruction of the boti, Maude is utilizing historical method to deal with a problem in ethnography; but, he uses "historical" to refer to changes over time. In "ethnohistory," 121 as I have defined it, the "-history" in the term refers to the application of historical method to an ethnographic problem and not necessarily to tracing out changes over time. Maude, however, automatically combines historical method and changes over time into the "-history" of his "ethnohistory." Thus Maude is in error when he writes of the term ethnohistory:

> As it is a term invented by anthropologists, perhaps we should accept their definition of its meaning as 'the placing of time perspective into the study of culture;' and if it is regarded as invidious it might be as well to abandon it in favour of 'culture history,' which appears to express the same idea in simpler English (Maude 1971: 21).

"Culture history" does not express the same idea as ethnohistory. This is made clear in this work and others have stated similar views. Writing of "Ethnohistory in Polynesia: The Value of Ethnohistorical Evidence" Dening stated:

> In fact, ethnohistory's prime concern with myth, legend or geneology, or with historical reconstruction of illiterate societies, or with the origin of these societies. The ethnohistorian's prime concern is with the description of the illiterate society by literate observers at the time when contact between the two had not changed or destroyed the illiterate society [stress added] (Dening 1966: 25).

Synchronic ethnographic reconstruction or Dening's "description" of ethnohistory is thus stressed over diachronic historical reconstructions of culture history. A recent statement on culture history reads:

> Culture history is the subdivision of general history but is concerned with the historical development of nonliterate people, present and past (Greenberg 1968: 448).

●121 The "history" in culture history refers to tracing out or delineating the "historical development" of a people. Culture history, as the term is used and as Maude uses it refers to an analytical and developmental approach to changes in culture. Culture history is what "historical anthropologists" were doing in the early part of the 20th Century with American Indian problems but it is not ethnohistory.

The conceptual confusion of ethnohistory and culture history stems from the fact that a particular synchronic ethnographic reconstruction can contribute or blend into culture history. Just as several ethnographies of a people or area result in ethnology, and ethnology, as Kroeber stated it, merges "into culture history" (in Tax 1953: 367), so can several ethnographic reconstructions result in a culture history. This culture history can develop in two ways: It can be the study of one people through time, such as Maude's boti analysis; or the study of ethnographic reconstructions from several societies at different points in time which results in a theory on the evolution of culture.

127 ceremony, as I am concerned with the descriptions as representative hikitanga ceremonies in general. These corroborated descriptions can be used as the basis of statements of ethnohistorical facts on the hikitanga ceremony, funerary activities, and Tongan religion.

The ethnohistorical researcher attempts to acquire as many descriptions from different eyewitnesses observing the same behavior, preferably observed and recorded on the same date, in order to make as many external consistency checks as possible. The greater the consistency of comparative descriptions, the more valid are the ethnohistorian's inferences and thereby the statements of ethnohistorical fact.

Data on an Ethnographic Reconstruction: 'Inasi Ceremony

The ethnohistorical researcher must have background ethnographic
knowledge about the society being studied before reading, extracting,
127 and testing the descriptions from manuscript accounts. From previous
651 readings I not only knew that the 'Inasi was an important ceremony in
171 aboriginal Tongan society (Gifford 1929: 345), but also that the cere-
796 mony had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Vide Goldman 1970:
127 134ff.; Sahlins 1957: 24-25; and Williamson 1924). I tested the
121 statements made by the Wesleyan missionaries against known and accepted
ethnographic evidence concerning first fruit ceremonies in Tonga in
particular and Polynesia in general. This required reading the manu-
script, extracting specific descriptions, and comparing them with
127 651 796 accepted ethnographic evidence. The 'Inasi was an aboriginal Tongan

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651 ceremony which involved the presentation of produce and material goods
796 at certain times of the year. An ethnographic reconstruction of the
[121] Tongan ceremony can serve as a test of Sahlins and Goldman and can also
contribute to ethnological comparisons in Polynesia.

244 The Tongans were a horticultural people and the yam, or 'ufi,
262 was the main crop. The Wesleyan missionary Cross stated "the yam is a vegetable that is to the inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross, Letter-Journal entry of December 3, 1830).
805 The aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year, based
244 on the lunar month and thirteen separate designated time periods (Dyson, Journal, April 7, 1863), indicate the importance of the yam to the Tongans. Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" (Thomas, MS. A1959: n.p.). He also wrote that the Tongans "expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams of this time period, that "this is the earliest and the best yams" (Ibid.). For the European month of October, Thomas wrote: "Ooloo enga - Uluega" which is 'Uluenga for "Ooloo, the head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "become yellow" (Ibid.).

127 Reading and extracting descriptions by the ethnohistorical
797 chronological-synchronous reading method reveals the changes in the
796 individual missionary's reporting capabilities. These changes of the
651 observer to the observed are evident in the examples from Thomas' manuscript accounts describing the 'Inasi, transcribed by Thomas as "Inache" and "Inaji." The first example is from Thomas' 1826 Journal, when he

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

121 Ethnohistory is the combination of the anthropologist's ethnographic-ethnological knowledge and historical method. Ethnohistorical method is applied to certain materials in an attempt to solve specific problems in ethnography.

127 When ethnohistorical method is applied to documents in a logical and precise manner, i.e. scientific, the ethnohistorical researcher selects and extracts descriptions from the documents and checks and tests the extractions against known and confirmed ethnographic evidence. He weighs and verifies the descriptions and considers the context of the observer to the observed before making a statement of ethnohistorical fact, or ethnographic facts of the past, based on those confirmed and credible descriptions.

121 When the ethnohistorical method and the results of that method are verifiable by independent researcher, the precise statements of ethnohistorical fact are verifiable. This is the prime justification for this work: there has been no explicit statement to date as to how various researchers have gone about ethnohistorical research on documents written by non-ethnographers. There have been several authors who have worked with documents but their methods have never been

121 explicitly stated. We have no way to judge an ethnographic reconstruction without an explicit statement of method and without explicit statements of evidence. How was the ethnographic evidence culled from the non-ethnographic documents? And how did the researcher decide what was actually ethnographic evidence of the past and quasi-ethnographic fabrication of the untrained observer?

The limitations inherent in the ethnohistorical method are numerous, but they are precisely the same ones inherent in the historical method--and historians have coped with their limitations by the rigorous systems of checks and balances applied to their interpretations. The chief limitation is obviously the one that the researcher can only work with what is recorded in the document, but this limitation is ethnohistory's greatest strength: If we call manuscript "informants," containing ethnographic descriptions which form the basis of ethnohistorical fact, then those informants will not "die" but will be available for future researchers to check. Not only can future researchers check on every statement of ethnohistorical fact, but the identical informants will still be available for hypotheses of the future--hypotheses which have yet to be formulated by present researchers.

128 In this work I have demonstrated how ethnohistorical method can be applied to non-ethnographic documents and how ethnographic evidence can be extracted from the documents and tested. I have discussed how the ethnohistorical researchers must use the most efficient method of extracting ethnographic descriptions from manuscript sources, and

128 cross-check the descriptions for internal and external consistency.
127 The ethnohistorical method is determined in part by the location of the
sources, the policy of the research institution, and the manner in
which the sources are preserved (original, microfilm, photocopy, etc.).
The best ethnohistorical reading method I found was that of chronological-
synchronous. The amount of ethnographic description contained
within the manuscript sources determined the time-span block I utilized
127 in reading. With this chronological-synchronous ethnohistorical read-
128 ing method, changes in perspective of the eyewitnesses can be recognized
and accounted for, as I discussed it earlier on the concepts of 'otua
and 'inasi. The historical method of making specific internal and
external checks on the consistency or validity of descriptions has
been demonstrated using descriptions in reference to 'otua, hikitanga,
and 'inasi. Statements of ethnohistorical fact, based on the consis-
tencies of the details in the descriptions, have been made. An ethno-
graphic reconstruction of the 'inasi was presented and it was pointed
out that ethnographic reconstructions can contribute to the testing of
ethnographic hypotheses concerning Polynesian cultures.

● 121 Ethnographic reconstructions are not limited to descriptions of aboriginal culture, but can be made at any point along the time continuum. I have discussed information from the 1822-1850 period of Tongan-European contact. If documents, and verifiable ethnographic evidence within those documents, become available for the 1850-1900 period, an ethnographic reconstruction of post-1850 Tonga could be attempted. There is no reason why one cannot reconstruct cultures at any point in time.

By diligent comparison of various ethnographic focal points, such as religion, kinship, or social structure, ethnographic reconstruction of 19th Century cultures can be compared with 20th Century ethnographic field work of the same cultures. This is comparative anthropology or ethnology in historical perspective. Maranda's ethnohistorical work concerning the Marquesas can be compared, to some extent, with Handy's work, The Native Culture in the Marquesas (1923); Oliver's forthcoming ethnohistorical work, Ancient Tahitian Society (Vide Oliver 1967: 439) can be compared with Handy's History and Culture in the Society Islands (1930). Eventually, Maranda's ethnohistorical facts on the Marquesas can be compared with Oliver's ethnohistorical facts on Tahiti, and both can be compared with ethnohistorical facts on Tonga.

Should sufficient ethnographic reconstructions of Polynesian cultures become available, they can be compared in toto with 20th Century synoptic works on Polynesia which have not been researched by means of an ethnohistorical method. Two recent works which have attempted to present ethnographic reconstructions, but which are decidedly not ethnohistory, are Sahlins' Social Stratification in Polynesia (1958) and Goldman's Ancient Polynesian Society (1970). Maranda's Marquesa- ethnohistoric work (1964) and Freeman's Samoan ethnohistoric work (1964) and their logical and successful critiques of Sahlins bode well for future ethnohistorical research in Polynesia.

Ethnographic evidence from a reconstruction can provide additional information on the range of variation in culture. At times ethnographers level out variation or attribute variation to

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

121 idiosyncratic behavior. With information from one point in time and information through time, a continuum of cultural behavior can be seen in Tonga.

FOOTNOTES

Notes for Chapter I

161 [1] A numerical estimate of the indigenous Tongan population for the year 1800 would fall within the range of fifteen to twenty thousand. The most frequently cited figure is that of 18,500 recorded by Wilkes in 1840 from the Wesleyan missionaries (1845, III: 29), but this is greatly at odds with a Wesleyan estimate of 50,000 for 1847
162 (Lawry 1850: 245; Vide McArthur 1967: 73). An intriguing population total for Tongatapu alone was made by an Australian sea captain in 1824: he placed the population of the main island at 34,800 (Beveridge
114 1824 Letter). Unfortunately, I believe the captain had less than the goals of a preliminary census taker at heart but more the eye of a businessman cum sea captain who was trying to convince the Wesleyan missionaries at Sydney, Australia, with whom he was acquainted, of the tremendous potential sales market for material goods and Christianity in the archipelago.

797 [2] This list is based on Minns (1930; 1933). Missionaries who only passed through the archipelago are not included in this list. This includes Hazlewood, who was in Tonga in 1844 and Thompson who was in
127 Tonga in 1850. A comparison of the list with the manuscript bibliography of this work will partially indicate the number of manuscript
[113] material which have survived into this Century. Many of these Wesleyan missionaries had letters in the Mitchell Library microfilm series FM4/1417 to FM4/1421. These letters were read in the course of the research but unless they were specifically cited in this presentation, these individual letters do not appear in this bibliography.

● 121 [3] The Swanton volume is an excellent example of ethnohistory contributing to ethnographic reconstruction (Bushnell) and culture history (Fenton).

[4] The historical aspect of Pacific culture was given impetus by the establishment in 1950 of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Maude wrote that "the historical study of the Pacific Islands could be said to have commenced as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history" in 1950 (Maude 1968: xv). Even though "Pacific History" as an organized discipline began the movement to archival sources, the interest of Pacific historians have not necessarily coincided with the interests of ethnohistorians; and even though Pacific historians have done extensive archival research, their published works do not delineate the historical method which they applied to their sources.

121 As example of works by Pacific historians, Gilson's detailed monograph of Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community (1970) is a combination of synchronic ethnography (pp. 1-64) and culture history of the 1830-1900 period, derived from manuscript sources of the time. Specific steps on method were not included: Why were certain ethnohistorical facts accepted over others? How were the manuscript accounts evaluated? Specifics in method are also lacking in Scarr's outstanding monograph Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914 (1968). This is a detailed culture history of the period based on numerous documents of that time. The same criticism of lack of explication of method may be leveled at Maude's work on the boti (1963) even though Maude's "control of his data" is quite evident (Vide Mason 1964: 79). Mason has pointed out the different interpretations of Maude on the boti, as opposed to Goodenough (1955) on the boti. A recent analysis of Gilbertese data by Lundsgaarde and Silverman (1972) would appear to support Maude's interpretation over Goodenough's.

France, in writing The Charter of the Land: Custom and Colonization in Fiji (1969), traces out European influence on indigenous land tenure beliefs. In a review of the book, Thompson states that France's work "may serve as a model for implementing the new ethnohistorical approach towards the colonial record elsewhere" (Thompson 1971: 334,. It must be noted that Thompson's "ethnohistorical" is in the same sense as Maude's "ethnohistorical" work: it is the "historical" aspect of change in the indigenous content of the culture. The "-history" is stressed over the "ethno-" in the term, since France does not set up a hypothesized synchronic "base line" of aboriginal Fijian land tenure. France does not establish an ethnographic reconstruction because of the limitations of manuscript sources and the diversity and variety of the sub-cultural traits in Fiji (France 1969: 14). He wrote a type of culture history: the effects of European influences on aboriginal Fijian beliefs.

It must also be noted, that although Thompson has written that France's book may be used as a "model" (as indeed may Golson's, Scarr's, and Maude's), France does not give any specific as to the evaluation techniques used on his manuscript sources. The key question a potential researcher must ask of a model is: does it explain how to evaluate manuscript materials and the specific descriptions within them? It is my intention that this work can be utilized as a model.

One additional work is a blend of ethnographic reconstruction and culture history: Crocombe's Land Tenure in the Cook Islands (1964). Although Davenport states that "this book demonstrates what can be accomplished by the application of sound historical method to an interesting anthropological problem" (Davenport 1965: 70), Crocombe's section on an ethnographic reconstruction of aboriginal land tenure (pp. 16-59) is lacking in specific statements as to why certain ethnohistorical facts were chosen over other facts.

[5] One early example of ethnohistorical work in Polynesia, although the author did not term it ethnohistory, was Firth's 1929 publication on the Maori. He utilized published sources to establish a "historical ethnography" as a base line on the "social structure and economic organisation" (1929, 1959: 90-141; Vide Dark 1957: 246). Since Firth did not center the entire monograph around his use of published sources for a type of ethnohistory, one cannot be overly critical of Firth for his failure to specifically delineate his historical method (cf. Vayda 1961: 144ff.).

Notes for Chapter II

[1] In her article, Lurie cited Fenton's 1952 article, "The Training of Historical Ethnologists in America" and she accurately pointed out that Fenton "did not grapple with the problem of actual technique" of historical method applied to ethnographic problems (Vide Lurie 1961: 90; cf. Keesing 1962; Silverman 1971).

[2] In 1953, Wiley spoke of "extra-cultural documentation" which was information "gathered by persons outside the culture" (in Tax 1953: 252). "Extra-cultural documentation" in this work is referred to as the "documentary, manuscript, or archival sources" or the accounts written by non-anthropologists. In 1971 Heidenreich wrote of "ethno-documentary" which is the same as "extra-cultural documentation." Heidenreich, in his work, concentrated primarily on an evaluation of paintings and sketches pertaining to the Crow Indians, as well as published sources of the 19th and 20th Century. Although he has a small portion on specific methods (1971: 105-108), his primary concern is with an overall view of the Crow Indians for the period 1824-1862 and not on the methods of research.

There is a definite need for and analysis of ethnohistorical method applied to manuscript sources, since there are distinct problems in ethnography for which solutions can only be found in manuscript or archival sources. One such problem is the description of a culture at the time of European contact. Such a base line description provides us with information for eventual studies of acculturation or culture change (see Hickerson 1962).

[3] It is to be noted that in using Kaplan's term "justification" I do not defend the ethnohistorical method but demonstrate that ethnohistorical research can result in warranted or ethnographic reconstructions, and hence ethnohistory makes a vital contribution to the overall anthropological endeavor. As Leacock states it: "ethnohistory needs no justification" (Leacock 1961: 260; Vide Washburn 1961).

127 114 104 [4] Scholarly works have often been inconsistent for Tonga and for other parts of Polynesia when it comes to the hamza. Buck points out that the hamza had not been used on a Hawai'ian dictionary as late as 1922 although it had been used in a Samoan dictionary published in 1911; he also pointed out that Bishop Museum publications of the early 20th Century were often lacking and inconsistent in the use of the hamza--the hamza was included in some scholarly works and omited in others and even the same word in the same text was, at times, spelled with and without the hamza (Buck 1945: 38). See Freeman (1972) for a recent statement on the lack of the hamza for Samoan work.

Notes for Chapter III

121 [1] See Dan Hollander, writing of "Social Description: The Problem of Reliability and Validity" who writes: "Scientific 'facts' in their own right do not exist. No 'fact' is ever 'pure' and 'objective.' Significance and interpretation are never simply contained in the facts. One cannot simply gather or discover facts. What we call facts are really constructions of the mind, isolated from a complex and as yet confused reality, with the help of definitions and classifications we have made ourselves. We find 'facts' by a process of selection which inevitably entails evaluation, the criterion being used: is it relevant for what we are doing, will it be useful? We note and mention them because we already have an idea about the way they are linked up, - an idea only partly produced by these facts. It is a mental game of leapfrog with influences working both ways. On this basis we pay attention to one thing and not to another; it makes us observe in a particular way and perceive particular things and it determines the way our findings are provisionally put together. In the course of this we are forced by what we observe to modify the provisional assumptions, which then opens our eyes to other 'facts' and so on" (1967: 6-7). On a similar point, see Malinowski (1935, I: 465) who writes "here I want to drive home the most important principle of method in field-work: that without a theoretical grasp of the problem it is impossible to make relevant observations. An empirical and scientific theory of fact is necessary as a chart for observation and as a check on observations. Without a theory there can be no fruitful research;" and Nadel (1956: 167) who writes of theory as providing "something like a conceptual blueprint, mapping out the problem areas, indicating their presumed significance, and generally foreshadowing lines of inquiry."

[2] In setting off culture as a construct, I am thus distinguishing it from society, another construct of the same empirical reality (*Vide* Geertz 1957: 33ff.; Firth 1951, 1961: 27; Firth 1968; Mandelbaum 1968; and Singer 1968). In distinguishing culture from society, I do not go as far as White, who reifies the former, and Durkheim, who reifies the latter. Culture and society both have their locus in the individual and I cannot agree with Durkheim when he writes that "society is a

reality sui generis" (Durkheim 1915, 1965: 29 and 259ff.), just as I cannot agree with White when he writes that "culture may be regarded as a process sui generis. It is a process in which culture traits interact with one another, forming new permutations, combinations and syntheses" (White 1968: 548). Note that with the gloss anthropology I include both American cultural anthropologists and British social anthropologists since both types of anthropologists aim for empirical generalizations about man, although their emphasis is on different points (Vide Evans-Pritchard 1950, 1962: 149; Leach 1954, 1964: 16; and Singer 1968: 532).

[3] The models of which I speak are those discussed by Geertz (1966), Silverman (1967; 1969; 1971), Schneider (1972), and Pitt-Rivers (1967: 31ff.). Also see Kaplan and Manners (1972: 164ff.) and Bidney (1953, 1967: 129). It is stressed that a model is not a theory (Vide Kaplan and Manners 1972: 166), but models contribute to eventual statements of theory. The purpose of a model is that it "stores an indefinite number of facts" which allows for eventual ease of retrieval and comparison (Scriven 1968: 90; Vide Toynbee 1961, 1964: 160ff.; and Bagby 1958, 1963: 201).

[4] The term history derives from the Greek word which originally meant "inquiry," "research," or "study" (Bagby 1958, 1963: 24; Toynbee 1961, 1964: 225). In its broadest sense, the term stands for "learning" but it is learning of a special kind: "the past of mankind" (Gottschalk 1950: 41). History thus involves research and inquiry about the past with "the cardinal feature of historical thinking, then reflect [ing] an interest in the dimension of time in human life" (Tholfsen 1967: 6).

[5] Hughes (1964: 4-5) has rather dramatically phrased this as, "the historian alone is both wedded to empirical reality and condemned to view his subject matter at second remove. He alone must accept the word of others before he even begins to devise his account." In one way, every research scholar, including the field ethnographer, must accept the word of others before research is begun or an account completed. As Bloch aptly points out, "all knowledge of mankind, to whatever time it applies, will always derive a large part of its evidence from others" (Bloch 1953: 50).

[6] Statements of ethnohistorical fact can also be derived from numerous other pieces of evidence: Fenton has written of the value of old photographs as well as sound recordings (Fenton 1952: 332) and Hoffman of information to be derived from old maps (1964). Lurie has pointed out that "yesterday's ethnography sometimes becomes today's historical document requiring special assessment and tests of validity" (Lurie 1961: 89), and Sturtevant has pointed out that contemporary ethnographic field notes should be saved since they are primary documents for future researchers (Sturtevant 1966: 18-19). For specific sources for research on American Indians see Gibson (1960); for sources of data for Pacific research see Dodge (1968).

PSYCHIC STRESS IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

By Ernest Beaglehole

During recent years there has developed an increasing interest among anthropologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists in the problems of personality study. 121 The psychologist and psychiatrist have been working largely within the confines of western European culture, studying both the normal and the abnormal personality; there is now in evidence a tendency to realize that a broad human perspective is required if personality study is not to be limited by the ambit of behavior characteristic of man in Western civilization. The anthropologist is here able to make a unique contribution to a more realistic psychology of human conduct, through his awareness of cultural relativity and through his studies of the processes whereby the infant in a primitive society acquires the forms of learned social behavior customarily observed in that society.

These processes of social conditioning affect not only the normal personality in a primitive society, but the deviant or abnormal personality as well. It is through their close study in a wide variety of cultural situations that light may ultimately be thrown on the incidence of nonorganic factors in an understanding of the causes, symptoms, and forms of certain types of mental disorder. Ideally, work of this nature should be carried out by one who is both a well-trained psychiatrist and anthropologist in cultures that are relatively simple and relatively homogeneous. It involves a thorough knowledge of the simpler society, together with a still deeper study of the impact of this society on the individual carriers of the social pattern—a study that may well start with the problems of infancy and childhood and thence lead on to a consideration of specific patterns of personality formation.

Studies of this type, I think, could well be carried on in the Pacific area, where we have a notable variety of cultural forms of two different ranges: one range that differs in cultural configuration, master ideals, or typology (Polynesia, Indonesia, China, etc.), and another range that differs in terms of relative contact with invading cultures. The latter range is often of two types: native contact with European culture, and native contact with non-European culture. There is thus involved in the Pacific area a considerable number of different cultural milieus which should prove of admirable value as natural or pseudo-experimental setups for the study of cultural factors in personality development.

For the good and sufficient reason that fortune has hitherto taken me only to particular areas of the eastern Pacific, I wish to present briefly in this paper field data which are admittedly incomplete but which have a limiting value in showing the importance of an understanding of psychic stresses as an aid to a deeper appreciation of certain aspects of a Polynesian society at the present time.

The student of Polynesian society today has perhaps a dual task. He must try to record all that it is possible to learn of social patterns at the time of first European contact. With this as a base line he may extend his interests in a temporal fashion and try to understand something of the processes of cultural change (acculturation) in the particular societies he studies. This he may do through the aid of both historical literature relevant to the years of culture contact and present-day analysis of social forms in comparison with his base-line forms. The study of both aboriginal and contemporary Polynesian society is legitimate and illuminating. But in the nature of the case it is usually far too late, by now, to gather firsthand information relating to the impact of a unique aboriginal Polynesian culture on personality development. Hence the Polynesian student is forced to study the impact of present cultural forms on

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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121 contemporary Polynesian natives. He may do this again from two points of view: first, making an evaluation of the role of nonorganic factors in personality growth; and second (and reversely), providing a rough index of personal disorganization and psychic stress among individuals in selected societies.

For both points of view, much of the success of this type of study depends upon clear knowledge of the present cultural patterns in a given society, their present integration and homogeneity. It is through this knowledge that one will be best able to interpret the data selected and collected. For the first point of view expressed above, it is necessary, I think, that we have more investigations made into the life of Polynesian children.[1] An acceptable scheme of study, as Margaret Mead has recently suggested, might well be elaborated by experts to ensure comparability of data collected by subsequent investigators. The second point of view involves first, I think, the statistical study (where statistics are available) of mental disorder among different cultural groups in Polynesia today and, secondly, case studies of psychic stress among natives and others subjected to the strains of cultural adaptation.

At the present time quantitative studies of mental disorder are possible in both Hawaii and New Zealand. In Hawaii one may compare, though not without difficulty, the incidence of mental disease among the native Hawaiians and other cultural groups (Japanese, Korean, Filipino, etc.) that constitute this modern melting pot of races. In New Zealand it is also possible to compare the same incidence for Maori and White. A preliminary survey in both areas[2] leads me to feel that this method might well be elaborated and refined in its application so as to produce valuable scientific data on the incidence of mental disorganization among Polynesian peoples subjected to the strains of adjusting to changing social standards. It is unfortunate from the viewpoint of the Polynesian student that no attempt has yet been made to keep statistics (not even the simplest) regarding incidence of mental disease in Fiji. Provision exists in Suva for the segregation of psychotics. An adequate quantitative analysis of psychosis among the cultural groups in Fiji today (East Indian, Chinese, native Fijian, etc.) would doubtless provide valuable comparative material.

Recorded studies of psychic stress among present-day Polynesians are not voluminous.[3] Yet such studies, as Hallowell and others have shown for the American Indian,[4] are likely not only to yield information about the specific culture studied but also to provide comparative material which at least serves to focus many problems of contemporary personality research.

114 The following material from Tonga is quite incomplete. It was collected as a sideline to other investigations. But it has the value, I think, of giving new insights into contemporary Tongan society. The psychological interpretations offered all suffer from varying amounts of guesswork. This is inevitable inasmuch as the time at my disposal was short and informants were busy with ordinary economic activities. The value of the theorizing, therefore, lies mainly in any illumination it gives into the lives of individual Tongans and, again,

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[113] [1] See Ernest Beaglehole, "Polynesian Anthropology Today," *Am. Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, No. 2, p. 220.

[113] [2] Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians*, Appendix B on "Culture and Psychosis in Hawaii," University of Hawaii Research Bulletin (in press); *ibid.*, "Psychosis in New Zealand," *Jour. Polynesian Society* (in press).

[113] [3] Note, however, Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1929), chs. 10, 11, and appendix iv.

[113] [4] References will be found in Hallowell's studies; for a guide to which see A. I. Hallowell, "Shabwán: A Dissocial Indian Girl," *Am. Jour. Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1938, p. 330.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

PSYCHOSIS AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

121 158 [114] 158 771 The dreams that I have so far mentioned are of interest because they give an indication of some of the main lines of psychic stress in a Tongan village. Through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Lopdell I was able also to observe a manic-depressive patient, the onset of whose psychosis seems to be due to anxiety over the welfare of an adolescent daughter. The patterning of the psychosis is almost exclusively in terms of symbolism taken from Wesleyan Christianity. This again suggests the significance of religion in the everyday life of the Tongans. None thought it strange or unusual that religion should figure so prominently in the symptoms of the psychotic. The interest of this case justifies a full description. I present it therefore as I recorded it at the time.

158 159 *Case 10.*—Manic-depressive psychosis. There was a message awaiting the doctor when we came back to dinner, asking him to go down to the jail. The jailer's wife had been screaming and yelling and fighting all night, apparently, and all day. Could he do anything for her? The doctor sent up to the hospital for some morphine and a hypodermic syringe. We both went to the jail. The jailer's wife was sitting on the floor in a small, dark, windowless cell, her husband hanging to one arm, a friend clutching the other. Every few minutes she vomited forth a flood of excited Tongan, then screeched and struggled and cursed everyone present. She was quite obviously in a manic state, and morphine brought an immediate release for her and a few hours' rest for her guardians.

Her history, as her daughter Mele gave it, is significant for the sidelight it gives on Tongan life today. The woman was always considered peculiar by her friends, in the sense that she showed little discretion—had no feeling for the Aristotelian golden mean, if you like—in the way she carried out Tongan patterns of behavior. She always went to church more frequently than her neighbors, prayed more vigorously, sang more loudly. Whenever there was a feast or a gift-giving, she wasted more food than her friends and gave away in an unseemly fashion everything her hands touched in her house. She was definitely queer, both her family and her friends were sure. Moreover, all her pride and affection were centered on her daughter Mele, a buxom, full-spirited, definitely pretty lass of about seventeen with a high reputation as a dancer and definitely attractive to the local youth. Quite recently Mele had visited Nukualofa and unofficially borrowed two "hot-cha" gramophone records to take with her as a present to some Nukualofa lad. There was some unpleasantness over the records when Mele returned to Neiafu. Most forgot about the matter, except Mele's mother and one of her local church enemies, an old hag who probably envied Mele her youth. Quite recently the mother and the hag had been quarrelling violently, the backbiting coming to a head the day before we visited the jail, when the hag, seeking to score a body blow, threatened to revive public interest in Mele's gramophone records and have Mele committed to jail as a common thief. The blow was shrewd and thoughtless, probably. But it lodged against the mother's unbalanced head. She went to bed worrying. She awoke in the middle of the night a raving maniac.

158 159 771 The interest of all this, I take it, is the way in which Mele's mother patterns her anxiety. She is deeply religious, slightly unbalanced, devoted to her daughter, and intensely worried about the daughter. The strain is too strong for her mind to bear. She suffers from mania. And the maniacal ravings are all phrased in religious concepts. She calls Mele pure, unsullied, lovely, a true bride of Christ. She prays incessantly to God, urging him, nay, demanding of him that he forgive and protect her daughter from any shameful harm. She offers herself as a sacrifice to atone for Mele's possible sinfulness. Then

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and 158
minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free 159
herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of 771
God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives 158
decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called 159
in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil 756
spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an 755
effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed- 158
blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to 159
thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu.
Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the pa- [771]
tient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which 771
religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today
realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the [158]
life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies [794]
a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week
as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to cele- [796]
brate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly
thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only [659]
establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and [671]
a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events [798]
a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

SUMMARY

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic 121
stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 Individuals interested in the beauty of plants have also made valuable contributions. The botanical explorer Richard Spruce investigated the flora of the Amazon and the Andes primarily to experience the beauty of nature in an undisturbed environment. The thought of extracting plant substances with the goal of discovering pharmaceutical agents was uninteresting to him. Still, his esoteric investigations greatly increased our knowledge of the quinine tree, *Cinchona succiruba* Pav. ex Klotzsch (24). He collected over 100,000 seeds of this species, and several hundred live specimens were planted in India and Ceylon in the 1860's (16) from which a great industry has grown.

Until this century, therefore, work within the field of ethnobotany was usually done as a secondary project by the professional botanist or anthropologist and by interested laymen (24). It was not until 1895 that Harshberger created the term "ethnobotany," the meaning of which has since been interpreted and used as a guiding force in the study of non-industrialized man and the plants of his environment. 121

As Schultes (24) points out, this is a science that requires an interdisciplinary approach and may be pursued through several avenues: by an examination of the literature of missionaries and travelers, by a systematic survey of the notes on herbarium labels, through analyses of fossilized plant remains, and/or by investigating the uses of plants in the field.

Field work is fast becoming the most crucial area of concentration for ethnobotanists. With the rapid approach of civilization into once very remote areas, the therapeutic application of plants is being superseded by modern pharmaceuticals. In the South Pacific this process of acculturation is occurring very rapidly. It is estimated

[p. 423-C]

121 that with the passing of one more generation
little of this knowledge will survive in
Polynesia.

[101] It is for this purpose—to record the uses
of plants in folk-medicine—that I went to
Tonga during the months of September
through November, 1969.

The literature on diverse native floras and
the medical uses of each plant is voluminous.
The flora of Tonga, however, has never been
114 surveyed for this specific purpose. Strict
botanical investigation on the islands began
with Banks and Solander, who accompanied
Captain Cook on his first voyage in 1769
(11). There have been numerous other
collectors in the archipelago, and four com-
prehensive reports of the flora of Tonga
have since been completed (32, 10, 4, 11).
127 *Plants of Tonga*, by T. G. Yuncker (32),
stands as the basic reference upon which
114 this survey was based. Yuncker's carefully
recorded list of native names was especially
valuable.

The results of several ethnological and
other first-person accounts have been utilized
114 in this paper (7, 17, 15). Although several
interesting anthropological studies are re-
corded, information regarding Tongan med-
ical practices is scarce.

121 Although it would be interesting to deci-
pher slowly the conceptual structures under-
lying the mechanics of medical treatment in
Tonga, I have attempted only to describe
the techniques and practices that are still
employed. It has become a question of
salvaging the knowledge still remaining
before it becomes too late to learn *anything*
about traditional Tongan medicine.

101 The Tonga Archipelago is situated in the
South Pacific Ocean between 15° and 23°
South Latitude and 173° and 177° West
Longitude. The islands are clustered in
three main areas. The northern, central, and
southern groups are known as the Vava'u,
Ha'api, and Tongatapu groups, respectively.
Scattered over 20,000 square miles of ocean,
the land area of the more than 150 islands
[161] is about 269 square miles. Only 36 of these
islands are inhabited, with a total population
of 77,585 individuals (1966 census). More
101 than 48,000 are living in the Tongatapu
162 group. Tongatapu Island is the largest in
this group, with an area of almost 100

757 Martin's report on life in Tonga indicates
that around the year 1800 few plants were
278 used in treating illnesses (17). There is no
reason to doubt his observations. However,
the possibility that plants were generally
used in medicines before 1800 must not be
eliminated on the basis of this single report.
171 Evidence from other regions of the Pacific
and from ethnographic studies of primitive
278 cultures in general suggests that plants
757 were used in medicines to some extent by
most peoples. By attempting to evaluate the
121 relative date of introduction to Tonga of the
species enumerated in Section V, perhaps
some conclusion as to the origin of plant
remedies in Tonga can be determined. For
128 this purpose, I have divided the 71 enumerated
medicinal plants into three categories:
endemic, indigenous, and of recent introduction.
For the purposes of this discussion,
"endemic plants" refers to species found only
in the archipelago; "indigenous plants" are
those found generally throughout Polynesia
and of pre-European introduction; and "recently
introduced species" are those from
tropical America, Africa, Asia, or India that
were introduced after Europeans first arrived
in Tonga. Table V lists those species
which are indigenous to Tonga and which
278 are used in medicines. Table VI lists those
which are used in medicines and which are
137 considered of recent, or post-European, introduction.

137 Of the species listed above, one is endemic,
49 are considered indigenous or of
278 pre-European introduction to Tonga, and
only 21 are of post-European introduction.
Therefore of the total of 71 species enumerated,
68% are indigenous to Tonga and 30%
174 are recently introduced. As the majority of
enumerated medicinal plants are native or
757 of pre-European introduction to Tonga and
the use of plants in Tonga is assumed to
[177] have flourished after 1800, it is possible to
conclude that the Tongan may have learned
the many plant remedies enumerated herein
from other Pacific islanders and/or from
Europeans who learned of certain plant
remedies in their travels and entered the
archipelago after visiting these other island
[114] groups. It is also possible to conclude that
Martin's (17) observations were, in fact, incorrect
and that medicinal plants were used
000 by Tongans before 1800. Perhaps the Ton-

642 797 lieved that 'civilisation' and 'law and order' were the spontaneous results of evangelisation and would not have developed except in ground prepared by the missionaries. The missionaries themselves subscribed to this view as the following remarks show:

> A more hallowed and noble triumph, of Gospel truth, Tonga had never witnessed, than when the social and political advancement of its population was thus acknowledged, by king, chiefs, and commoners, to be the sole result of that enlightenment and saving grace, which the religion of Jesus Christ had imparted, and before which heathenism and tyranny had fallen to rise no more (West 1865:438).

Although these commentators were clearly convinced that all political changes in Tonga were to be directly attributed to the influence or interference of the Wesleyan missionaries, there is a need to re-examine this question from a less partisan viewpoint. 121 It is the purpose of this book to try to assess critically and objectively the significance of the part played by the Methodist missionaries in the political development of Tonga from the re-establishment of their mission in 1826 to the promulgation of the Tongan Constitution in 1875. It attempts to demythologise the firmly established notions consciously or unconsciously developed and perpetuated either for purposes of religious propaganda by the supporters of the mission or for denigration by its opponents. It tries to assess the overall impact which the missionaries had upon the Tongan way of life at this time and to determine whether, in fact, they were solely responsible for the political changes in Tonga, as some writers have claimed.

128 I would like to express my gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, kindly assisted me both in my research and in the preparation of this work. I feel indebted to so many that it is impossible to acknowledge everyone by name, but I would ask those whose names do not appear on these pages to accept my very sincere thanks for their help.

127 My thanks go to the staff of the following libraries and archives for their valuable assistance in making my research easier and more enjoyable: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Turnbull Library and the New Zealand National Archives in Wellington, New Zealand;

to Ian Diamond, former archivist of the Fiji Archives, and many 127 others in various institutions in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission, the Reverend C. F. Gribble, O.B.E., and the Reverend E. V. Newman, who permitted the use of the Methodist Overseas Mission Archives; to Dr D. Williams of Trinity College, Auckland, for the use of the College archives; to the Reverend J. B. H. Robson, for the use of Methodist archives in Suva; to the Reverend G. Harris, then President of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and to Bishop J. H. M. Rodgers, of the Roman Catholic Church, for the use of their respective archives at Nuku'alofa, and also to Father C. P. Butler and Father Mingam of the Marist Fathers' headquarters at Hunters Hill, Sydney, for the use of the monastery's archives, their useful criticisms of the sections on the Roman Catholic mission, and the translation of letters from the French.

My attention was initially drawn to the subject of this book by 128 the late Reverend R. G. Page, who had been a missionary in Tonga for thirty-eight years. To this remarkable and unassuming man I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude for his sound advice, encouragement and personal interest in my work. The valuable [127] historical books and records which he had wisely and carefully collected for many years, and which have been generously given to me by his son Roger and daughter-in-law Mary, have been of invaluable help to this work. It is my deep regret that he did not live to see the completion of this book, which he had always wished.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the valuable 127 assistance given to me by Dr A. H. Wood and the late Dr E. E. V. Collocott, both ex-missionaries and authorities on the history of Tonga. Thanks are also due to Miss Gwenyth L. Davies, of Adelaide, Mrs Halliday of West Wyalong, Miss Oldmeadow of Melbourne, Miss Crosby of Sydney, the Reverend H. K. Moulton of London and other descendants of the Wesleyan missionaries, who gave me access to the journals and letters of their forebears who had served in Tonga during the period of this study; these documents proved to be invaluable sources of information.

This study has been enriched by the oral traditions collected 121
126

121 from various informants in Tonga during my field trip there from November 1964 to February 1965. I am deeply indebted to the 126 Hon. Ve'ehala, Keeper of the Palace Records and Secretary of the Traditional Committee, for the wealth of information he kindly 115 gave me in answer to my inquiries. Thanks are also due to the following informants: Tu'i'āfitu of Makave, Vava'u; the late Fe'iloakitau Kaho and the late Sione Filipe Tongilava of Kolofo'ou; the late Molitoni Fīnau of Nukunuku, 'Uhatafe of Mu'a, Siola'ā Soakai of Hihifo, Ha'apai, and many others, particularly my father, the late Siosiua 'Alopī Lātūkefu of Kolovai, who so generously gave of their time.

To Dr W. N. Gunson of the Department of Pacific History, 128 Australian National University, I owe an immeasurable debt, and it is impossible to convey fully the extent of his patient guidance and encouragement throughout the preparation of my thesis which formed the basis of this book. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Professor J. W. Davidson for the generous support given to me by his Department and for his invaluable criticisms of certain aspects of the manuscripts; to Mr Harry Maude, Dr Francis West, Dr Dorothy Shineberg and Dr Deryck Scarr, who at all times showed their readiness to discuss and criticise this work; to Dr Alaric Maude and Dr Noel Rutherford, both students of Tongan geography and history, who read portions of this manuscript and offered valuable suggestions. Thanks are also due to Professor D. J. N. Denoon of the History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, who has read the whole manuscript and made very useful comments.

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115 Lastly, with deep gratitude and affection, I wish to express my great indebtedness to Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote Tupou of Tonga, for her gracious interest and invaluable help in this work. I was deeply privileged and greatly honoured by an invitation, which she extended to me, to spend four weeks with her

6

Tonga[1]

EQUALITY OVERTAKING PRIVILEGE

ALARIC MAUDE

423 THE SYSTEM of land tenure which has existed in the Kingdom
of Tonga since the late nineteenth century differs in many
641 respects from those of other parts of the South Pacific, its two
most distinctive features being that land rights are granted solely
to individuals, and that every taxpayer (that is, every male
Tongan aged sixteen years and over) is entitled to eight and
one-quarter acres of agricultural land and a small town allotment
on which to build his house. These features, and others described
●121 below, raise a number of questions. Does the present system
differ significantly from that of the pre-contact past? How effective
is it in practice, and does it provide a sound basis for agricultural
development? Are tenure changes necessary to cope with the
present rapid population growth? This chapter attempts to
answer these questions.

131 The 150 islands of Tonga are scattered over 450 miles of ocean
[161] in Western Polynesia. With a total land area of only 256 square
miles they support a population of about 80,000 persons. The
133 Kingdom's only natural resources are the soil and the surrounding
reefs and seas, and the economy is overwhelmingly agricultural.
[433] Over ninety per cent of Tongans live in the three main
[361] groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, where the islands
are of raised limestone formation. The surface of Tongatapu is
flat or very gently undulating and as in all the islands of this
type there are no permanent streams. The islands of Ha'apai
are small, low and scattered, while those of Vava'u are higher
and have a terraced appearance. About eighty-five per cent of
134 the total land area of the raised limestone islands is suitable for
cultivation, and the soils, being largely derived from volcanic
ash, are very fertile. The main soil type of these islands is a

land is much higher among in-migrants than among those who 423
belong there by birth (Maude 1965:118-19, Nayacakalou 1959:111), 166
and the difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an allotment has 425
probably deterred migration from the densely settled areas. At
the same time there has not been much opportunity for those
who have allotments in these areas, but who have moved else-
where, to exchange their old holdings for new ones (an exchange
which is provided for in the Land Act) and so make land avail-
able for others, as should have happened in the case of Ha'afeva
discussed earlier.

The main direction of migration within Tonga in recent years, 166
moreover, has been towards Nuku'alofa and other parts of Tonga- 369
tapu where the opportunities for earning money and the better
educational facilities have been more important attractions than 423
the possibility of obtaining land. People have been much less
interested in moving to 'Eua and to western Vava'u, where land
has been the only attraction (Maude 1965:81-6, Walsh 1964b:
188). Thus internal migration has only partly led to a better
distribution of land; it has had only a small effect on the tenure
problems of the densely settled areas, and among the rapidly-
growing population of Nuku'alofa a large proportion of house-
holds are landless. In a sample survey of households in the town
Walsh (1964b:63) found that only forty-nine per cent had a tax
allotment on Tongatapu, sometimes miles from the town, while
another six per cent had land elsewhere in Tonga. In the 1966
census only thirty-three per cent of taxpayers in Nuku'alofa
stated that they had a tax allotment.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Tongan land tenure system also needs to be assessed in 121 ●
terms of the way in which land is used. Has this system, with
its individual title to land and security of tenure, proved a satis-
factory basis for cash cropping, and has it fostered the develop-
ment of independent small holders free of some of the problems
found with more traditional systems of land tenure in other
parts of the South Pacific?

Cash cropping in Tonga has been largely confined to coconuts 423
and bananas, but there is no indication that land tenure has 182
been a factor in the non-acceptance of other crops. The early 178
stages in the development of the present tenure system were
apparently marked by an increase in cash cropping, for Ruther- 245
ford (1966:58-9) quotes the opinion of Maudslay that the 1862 [241]

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

Psychoanalysis and ceremony[1]

ELIZABETH BOTT

121

I am convinced that a knowledge of unconscious mental processes gained from the practice of psychoanalysis can deepen and enrich understanding of social behaviour. But I have not written this paper to prove or even to illustrate this conviction. I have written it in an attempt to understand a particular event, the kava ceremony of the Kingdom of Tonga in the South Pacific. This ceremony is a social event and as such involves groups, roles, and social differentiation as well as conscious and unconscious feelings. In order to understand it to my satisfaction I found I had to use ideas derived both from social anthropology and from psychoanalysis.

What I am saying, in effect, is that the problem in question should take priority over one's loyalty to a particular profession or professions, whether that problem is concerned with the understanding of a patient, of a ceremony, of social stratification, of political behaviour, or whatever it may be. Of course professional training shapes one's interests and limits one's selection of topics for study. In view of my double training as an anthropologist and a psychoanalyst it is not surprising that I have selected a problem that concerns both professions. The analysis of ceremonies falls within the traditional domain of anthropology, but it has also stirred many psychoanalysts to speculative efforts in applied psychoanalysis.[2]

In the course of trying to understand and interpret the kava ceremony it has repeatedly occurred to me that a ceremony has much in common with a dream. A dream is a condensed and

[p.205]

121 disguised representation of unconscious thoughts and wishes. A ceremony is a condensed and partially disguised representation of certain aspects of social life. A dream and a ceremony both serve a double and contradictory function: they release and communicate dangerous thoughts and emotions; but at the same time they disguise and transform them so that the element of danger is contained and to some extent dealt with. An effective ceremony protects society from destructive forms of conflict; an effective dream protects the sleeper from anxiety.

Of course there are important differences between a dream and a ceremony. A dream is the product of an individual; a ceremony is the product of a group. Dreams reflect unconscious thoughts. Some of the ideas and emotions expressed in ceremonies are unconscious, but many others are not so much unconscious as unformulated. Just as one can speak a language correctly without being able to formulate its grammatical rules, so one can play one's part in social life and in a ceremony without understanding how all the parts and principles fit together. Further, many of the symbolic statements made in a ceremony concern social norms and values of which the participants are consciously aware.

276 574 178 The basic events of the kava ceremony are very simple. A group of people pound up the root of a kava plant, mix it with water, and drink it. But all this is done according to a fixed ceremonial procedure that has hardly varied for at least 160 years. We have a good description of the ceremony dating from 1806 (Mariner, 1818, vol. 2, pp. 172–96) and the verbal orders and the actions performed have hardly changed at all, with one important exception. The kava root used to be chewed and then mixed with water, whereas nowadays it is pounded with stones.

276 [137] The botanical name of the kava plant is *Piper methysticum*. It contains several chemical constituents and there is considerable controversy about their physiological effects. The general conclusions are that it has a slight tranquillizing and anaesthetic action, though the effects are very mild. Tongans, however,

276 574 The first kava ceremony I saw was a small informal one, so informal that I did not realize it was a ceremony. I noticed an old man mumbling away from time to time – in fact he was giving ceremonial orders – and I saw that there were occasional lulls in the conversation, but I thought they were natural pauses not especially sacred moments in a ceremony. The first royal ceremony I saw was an entirely different affair. From the first moment when the food and kava were brought in with cries of 'Tue, tue, tue, tue, tue – e – e', and the matāpule chanted their thanks, the atmosphere was electric – charged with an intense feeling of being together in a group. The kava, the ceremony, and the group were sacred – *tapu*. I have never felt anything like it in our own society except at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, where it seemed to me that our mutual indifference to anything outside our own little circle was lost for a moment in a common feeling of being one nation.

● 121 How does one set about understanding such a ceremony? It is not much use asking people point-blank what it means any more than it would be useful to ask an individual what his dream means. To such questions Tongans reply politely, 'It is our custom,' and that is the end of the matter. What one should not do, either with a dream or a ceremony, is plunge headlong into arbitrary interpretations of symbolism. While this may be a useful intellectual exercise for the anthropologist or the psychoanalyst, it does not bring him much closer to the new and unique bit of reality he is trying to understand. It would be like trying to interpret a dream without knowing anything about the dreamer – no associations, no transference, no background knowledge of the dreamer's current life and childhood.

To understand a ceremony one needs to know something about the social context. One can also learn a lot by listening to what people say spontaneously and following up their leads. One can ask certain direct questions, such as why people sit where they sit, why the kava is used instead of another plant, or what the properties of kava are, without running into the blank wall of 'It is our custom.' One can ask people to explain

the differences between one type of kava ceremony and another. 121
I think this process of exploration is analogous to the use of patients' associations to dreams.

In the course of talking around the ceremony several informants told me the myth of the origin of kava, which proved
to be a useful lead. I recorded two versions of the myth and [126]
there are others in the literature (Gifford, 1924, pp. 71–5).
Their points of similarity and difference helped to clarify the [115]
central theme of the myth but I only have time for one version, which is the one recorded by the late Queen Sālote.

THE MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF KAVA

One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They 539
did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry 773
they called in at the little island of 'Euciki to get something to 276
eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (Alocasia macrorrhiza) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven, but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.

Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the

the mother far away in Tonga? ‘Aho‘eitu is her only son, so 276
she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who 574
tells ‘Aho‘eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what 539
of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is 773
destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? 154

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation 121
as the ‘right’ one. None of them can be ‘proved’ or ‘disproved’, at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-room, nor by any other method that I could think of at the time. In the consulting room, where the two partners to the relationship are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One always has the transference situation, of which one has direct experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content
of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was [123]
often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a cultural ‘front’ had to be kept up; attempts to ‘use’ me in one way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field. The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have 276
emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the 574
destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed 154
to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

276 accord with constellations of envy and rivalry in other aspects
574 of Tongan social life. It helped to order the facts in a new and
154 comparatively simple pattern that I had not seen before. But it seems very likely that at various times and to various Tongans any or all of the variants described above might be unconsciously meaningful. The ambiguity of myths and ceremonies is part of their point. It gives individuals some leeway to play with experience, to make culture their own possession.

276 The particular beauty of the kava ceremony, at least for
574 me, is that it deals with problems on so many different levels
182 at the same time. It clarifies social principles and roles. It puts
571 a temporary brake on certain types of rapid change. It states and partly resolves problems of dependence and envy, and of interdependence and rivalry, some aspects of which are generated by the peculiarly Tongan system of social stratification, and some by the universal human attributes of having a capacity for thinking and feeling and being brought up in a society.

Small-scale societies tend to have multidimensional cere-
121 monies of this type more frequently than we do. This suggests that time and continuity of shared experience are needed to build a ceremony that can transmit messages on many different levels at the same time. A long history of interpersonal contact and conflict makes possible the development of a symbolic statement in which universal human experiences are meaningfully linked with unique social circumstances.

000 In conclusion, I hope that I may have been able to interest you in taking a fresh look at ceremonies in our own society – at the coronation, for example, or at the elaborate ceremonial installation of the Lord Mayor of London as compared to the absence of ceremony in the installation of the head of the Greater London Council, at the Communion Service, at weddings, funerals, New Year's Eve parties, and so forth. Are roles dramatized and clarified? Is there a sense of continuity with the past? Is a symbolic form of expression provided for unspoken, or unformulated, or unconscious thoughts? Does the

121 2. Many anthropologists, especially in Britain, do not share Audrey Richards's and my view that understanding of unconscious mental processes is relevant to the analysis of social events. They are particularly apprehensive that psychoanalysts will attempt to explain social events in terms of individual needs. Their attitude is paralleled by the psychoanalyst's conviction that the complex events of the consulting room cannot be reduced to the level of neuro-anatomy. See especially Leach (1958); Lévi-Strauss (1964), especially Chapter 3; Gluckman (1964); Turner (1964); and Fox (1967).

276 3. For discussion of the chemical constituents and physiological action of kava see especially Keller and Klohs, 1963. Dr C. R. B. Joyce, Reader in Psycho-Pharmacology at the University of London has very kindly reviewed the literature for me and reports the following conclusions: 'All in all, my impression remains firm that this substance is not remarkable for its pharmacological activity; that such active properties as it contains have not been isolated so far (there is more activity on animals in the watery or chloroform extract, for example, than in any so far identified substance); and that the whole situation is a remarkable example of the placebo phenomenon in a wide and important social setting.' Personal communication, May 1967.

276 574 554 565 4. A similar institution is found among certain Bantu tribes. A. I. Richards (1950) calls it 'positional succession'; I. Cunnison (1956) calls it 'perpetual kinship'.

276 266 177 5. Tongans say that cannibalism was not indigenous to Tonga, but that early in the nineteenth century groups of young Tongan warriors visited Fiji, adopted the practice of eating slain enemies, and continued to practise this custom when they returned home to Tonga. The new custom was not adopted with enthusiasm and was soon abandoned.

565 554 6. The analysis of these three principles of social differentiation, political authority (titles), political power, and personal rank was first worked out by my husband, James Spillius, and was presented to the Tenth Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961 in a paper entitled 'Rank and Political Structure in Tonga'.

276 574 565 554 7. This complex of ceremonies is a striking example of what Max Gluckman has called the 'ritualization' of social relations in small-scale ('tribal') societies. He attributes this 'ritualization' to '. . . the fact that each social relation in a subsistence economy tends to serve manifold purposes . . . it is from this situation that I see emerging the relatively great development of special customs and

82+ Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

The structure of symbolism

EDMUND LEACH

Although I am exclusively responsible for what is said in this paper I wish to express from the start my great indebtedness to Dr Elizabeth Bott who has had the generosity to make many careful and extremely helpful comments on an earlier draft. A number of Dr Bott's observations have been incorporated into this final version without specific acknowledgement. I would also express my thanks to Dr La Fontaine and Dr Tambiah for their helpful critical comments on earlier drafts. 114

A principal theme in Audrey Richards's *Chisungu* (1956) is that 121 in the study of ritual symbolism the various interpretative procedures adopted by different brands of anthropologist and psychologist should be regarded as complementary rather than mutually inconsistent. Elizabeth Bott has recently argued in 114 similar vein. In a paper devoted to the analysis of Tongan kava ceremonial (see pp. 205–37 above) she supplements interpretations of a fairly straightforward functionalist kind (pp. 217–27) with the intuitions of a psychoanalyst, e.g.: 'I think that the chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother and son and to destroy him' (p. 229).

Now I concede that the intuitions of functionalist anthropologists are no more likely to be right (or wrong) than the intuitions of psychoanalysts so that if we accept either style of analysis we should accept the other, but if anthropologists wish 121

IR—R

[p. 239]

121 to be taken seriously as scientists they need to develop methods of analysis that are less dependent upon private hunch, and it is primarily on this account that I feel they should pay close attention to the work of Lévi-Strauss. If structuralism has any advantage over the alternative techniques considered by Richards and Bott it is precisely because it can claim to be, relatively speaking, 'intuition free'.

The basic issue is one of methodology. Are there operations by which we can analyse sequences of myth and ritual and say quite positively that 'the evidence shows that this and this is the case', or must we always fall back on some equivocating personal formula – 'it seems to me that' or 'it is surely obvious that'?

From this point of view the distinctive characteristic of structuralist procedure is that the analyst tries to avoid making symbolic substitutions which are not already quite overtly specified in the evidence. It is this aspect of structuralist analysis that I shall seek to demonstrate in this essay. Unlike some practitioners of the technique I share with Bott the functionalist assumption that myth is a charter for ritual performance and that we can only understand what is being symbolized in the ritual if we take note of what is being 'said' in the mythology. However, unlike Bott, I assume that it is the structural patterns embedded in the mythology rather than the superficial content that conveys the significant message.

114 531 773 Here is a preliminary example of what I mean. In one of the myths cited below (Bott II, p. 253), we are told how older brothers of a common father from a foreign land kill and eat their younger Tongan half-brother. In another myth (Gifford V, p. 251), which is in all structural respects the converse of the first, an elder half-brother of a common mother runs away to live in a foreign land from which he returns at the time of his younger Tongan half-brother's death.[1] One way of describing this antithesis is to say that the two stories present a contrast between 'the overemphasis of kinship bonds' (death associated with mutual identification) and 'the underemphasis of kinship

bonds' (death associated with mutual separation). This contrast is presented to us by the evidence itself; it does not require 'interpretation' by the analyst (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In the course of the essay that follows I shall constantly revert to this contrast, which is expressed in the actual ritual by a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (cf. Bott, pp. 225–6 above). 114 539 773

The distinctiveness of this procedure may be seen if we compare it with that employed by Bott who interprets the mythology by resort to intuition. Thus she claims that the myth (Bott II) mentioned above, represents a symbolic displacement of parental envy or castration symbolism (Bott, p. 230 above). Plainly she is here introducing an element of Freudian dogma which is quite external to the evidence as such.

All the same, we should not too hastily assume that Bott's conclusions must be false. The skeletal structural analysis that I have proposed above is precisely analogous to one which Lévi-Strauss applied in 1953 to a series of incidents in the classical Theban saga (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In that case the 'overemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the love of Oedipus for Jocasta and of Antigone for Polynices whereas the 'underemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the hostility between Oedipus and Laios and between Eteocles and Polynices. Since the Theban saga contains within itself all the basic complexes of the Freudian dogma it is hardly surprising that Bott should have got a whiff of ancient Thebes when contemplating the Tongan drama of 'Aho'eitu! But this, of course, raises the more general question of what is the relation between structuralist 'objective' analysis and psychoanalytic 'intuitive' analysis? The following material is designed to pursue this problem rather further. 121

I must first draw attention to a difficulty that Bott herself ignores. Her paper is, in the main, an analysis of 'royal' kava ceremonials as performed during the reign of the late Queen Salote. Bott observed such ceremonials and discussed them with 114 276 574

539 The *explicit* mythical statement that the relationship between
773 the Tu'i Tonga and matāpule titles is that of 'half-brother through a common mother' thus has the added *implicit* component that, through incest, the common mother is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

539 II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the
773 performance of the real life kava ceremony.

276
574 (i) *In the myth.* 'Eueiki produces two girls one leprous, one beautiful. The leprous girl is converted into two plants one 'poisonous' (kava) one sweet (sugar cane).
In the ritual. A distinction is made between the drink (kava) and the food (sugar cane). Distinctions are also made between the passive role of the presiding chief and the active role of the matāpule.

THE KAVA AS SACRIFICE

121 In my schematic analysis of the two myths I have referred to the
276 killing as a 'murder'. Is it legitimate to see this killing as
574 sacramental and to call it a 'sacrifice'? Is the relation between kava myth and kava ritual a charter for a symbolic killing, in the same way as the myth of the Last Supper provides the Christian with a charter for a symbolic meal that commemorates a 'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice?'

General theories about the 'meaning of sacrifice' fall into three types. First there are versions of Robertson-Smith's 'communion theory', which was designed to fit the 'sacrifice' of the Christian mass into a wider universal class. Here the sacrificial victim is, at the moment of slaughter, identified with the deity. The eating of the meat of the sacrifice is deemed an essential element in the rite; the congregation shares a collective guilt in participating in god murder and ritual cannibalism; this collective guilt is an 'atonement', it makes the members of the congregation aware of themselves as a collectivity that has jointly sinned yet jointly assimilated itself to

god. The views of Durkheim and of Freud both have much in 121
common with this basic thesis of Robertson-Smith. 276

Second, 'gift theories of sacrifice' presume that in making a 574
sacrifice the donor is offering a gift to his deity in order to compel the god to make a counter gift in return. Though sociologically unsophisticated, this type of generalization often corresponds closely to the ethnographic facts. Often enough this is what native informants say that they are doing. However, this 'theory' evades the basic problem: even if we were to concede that it is, in some way, 'sensible' for a human being to want to make a gift to his deity, how could it possibly be sensible that the form of this gift should be the killing of an animal?

The third class of theory derives from Hubert and Mauss. This emphasizes the sacramental aspect of the sacrificial performances. A sacrifice serves to 'make the donor sacred', i.e. it improves his mystical condition; if he is ill he is made well, if he is in a state of sin he is freed from his sin. This theory is, in some respects, the opposite of that postulated by Robertson-Smith. Where Robertson-Smith laid stress on the symbolic identification of the victim and the deity, the Hubert and Mauss theory emphasizes the identification of the victim with the donor. By killing the victim the sacrificer alters its mystical condition; but if donor and victim are identical this also alters the mystical condition of the donor. The ideology is mixed up with the apparently self-contradictory notion that although cleanliness is a superior state to dirtiness, potency (power) is often felt to be dirty. A sick person is one who is 'contaminated' by mystical power; if he is to be made well he must be cleansed of that contamination by separating the dirty from the sterile. In a sacrifice, the killing of the victim separates the life potency from the cadaver. In a curiously inverted sense it is a 'purification' of both the dead animal and the living human being.

These theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. If sacrifice constitutes a 'gift' from man to god, it also constitutes an atonement by which man and god are momentarily bound together and, in this moment of coalescence, it makes little

121 276 574 difference to the ideology whether the bond itself – namely the sacrificial victim – is felt to be identified with the deity, or with the donor, or with both at once. In the language of structural analysis the victim 'mediates' the opposition between deity and donor.

276 574 If these theories are applied to the Tongan material that has so far been considered, several details seem particularly relevant.

(i) In real life 'kava can be presented ceremonially only by a matāpule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only through a matāpule' (Gifford, 1929, p. 140).

Therefore, on the sacrifice analogy: the kava mediates the opposition between the matāpule as donor and the presiding chief as recipient. The matāpule titles in real life belong to the descendants of foreigners, and they are persons whose relationship to the Tu'i Tonga is comparable to that of the foreigner 'husbands' of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (*supra*, p. 246) [10] and of the mythical 'Fijian' (maternal) half-brother Fasiapule (*supra*, p. 252).

773 539 (ii) In Bott I and its variants stress is placed on the fact that the parents of the leper girl pay reverential respect to their royal visitor. In Gifford I the rank status of Fevanga, the girl's father, is expressly specified as that of 'attendant (*takanga*) to the Tu'i Tonga'. That is to say, he is a matāpule (see Gifford, 1929, p. 140). The mythical kava-leper girl is therefore again an offering that mediates the opposition between a matāpule as donor and a Tu'i Tonga as recipient.

(iii) In contrast, in Bott II, the victim's elder half-brothers are both the donors and the recipients of the sacrifice. There is no opposition that can be 'mediated'; on the contrary the donor-recipients of the offering carry their identification with the victim so far that they devour him. But here again it turns out that the ritual of the kava has established a relationship between matāpule and Tu'i Tonga.

[276] [574] This treatment of the material, both ritual and mythical, implies the following triads of 'mediated oppositions':

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574
773
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Opposed categories		*Mediating third term*
X	*Y*	*Z*
donor	receiver	gift
matāpule	presiding chief	kava
foreigner	Tongan	wife to foreigner sister to Tongan
sister's husband	younger brother	elder sister
half-brother	half-brother	Bott I common mother Bott II common father
Rank derived from both parents	Title derived from father	Ancestral Tu'i Tonga Fefine

In each of the three columns *X*, *Y*, and *Z* any one of the items is the symbolic equivalent of any other.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

So finally we return once more to the initial problem of ritual interpretation. In the performance of the kava ceremonial as described above (pp. 207–15) what is really going on? When the matāpule order the distribution of the kava, what is it that is being distributed? Can we ignore the Christian context noted [121] (p. 242)? Is the Eucharistic flavour just accidental?

Bott II explicitly exhibits the Tu'i Tonga being produced by a kava rite, yet structural analysis implies an identification of the kava with the female principle of rank derived from an ancestral Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

Whether we follow the 'overt' implications of the mythology or resort to a structuralist interpretation we are only offered three alternatives as to what the kava 'symbolizes':

Kava is: *either*

The body of the leprous daughter of the matāpule mystically transformed (as in Bott I)

or

The body of the Tu'i Tonga himself mystically transformed (as in Bott II)

or

Some mystical (incestuous) combination of the male

FINAL NOTE ON METHOD

Let me return to my initial thesis. The analysis that I have 121
presented employs a combination of 'structuralist' and 'functionalist' techniques. In so far as I use functionalist assumptions
I have operated intensively within a very narrow range of
ethnographic data and I have adhered to the Malinowskian
dogma that myth and ritual are two aspects of the same thing.
But I have combined this orthodoxy with many features of
structuralist procedure and I believe that the outcome is to
be preferred to either a functionalist or a psychoanalytical interpretation of the more usual sort because it depends much less
on intuition. Even so my argument might be criticized as
superficial. Even if Bott were to agree that the mystical identity 121
between the kava on the one hand and the potency of the Tu'i 114
Tonga Fefine on the other has now been established (as I think
perhaps she does), she might still argue that the concatenation,
in such a context, of themes of cannibalism and incest is too
suggestive to be ignored and that, at this 'deeper' level, the
Freudian approach adds insights that neither functionalism nor
structuralism can provide. On this issue I am not fully persuaded one way or the other. Certainly the convergence
between Bott's Freudian approach and my own structural
analysis seems very striking. But it was Audrey Richards's
Chisungu that first convinced me that these matters are far more
multivalent than I had once supposed, so it is to Audrey that I
now offer this essay in uncertain analysis.

NOTES

1. In terms of our value system it might further appear that the 114
younger half-brother is in each case 'illegitimate', but Dr Bott assures 539
me that this would not be the case according to Tongan idiom. 773

2. 'The basic meaning of the term mātāpule seems to be sister's 276
husband (M.S.)' (Gifford, 1929, p. 29). Hence it is a term of 574
respect. As a *title*, it denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. 565
Titles are hereditary in the male line and in most cases the patrilienages that own matāpule titles are of 'foreign' origin, e.g. they
are supposed to have come from Fiji or Samoa.

male substance but can be consumed. The male substance is of 114
lower rank but can only be consumed by those of higher rank 276
than the kava drinkers. The male substance is thus simul- 574
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taneously 'lower' and 'higher', just as brothers are simulta- 773
neously lower and higher than their sisters – lower in rank but greater in political power.

On one occasion I observed a kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' (Tu'i Fale Ua or Tu'i Pelehake), to which title the last Tu'i Tonga is said to have bequeathed his kava rites. In this ceremony the chief ate his *fono*. So did the Falefā, the titles of the four mythical half-brothers of 'Aho'eitu, and so did certain other 'foreign' matāpule who are said to have been specifically exempted from the *tapu* of eating in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. Unfortunately I did not discover whether the King of the Second House ate his *fono* in his capacity as Tu'i Tonga or in his capacity as King of the Second House. Cook is the only authority I have found who gives a description of the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony, and he does not include this detail. The present-day eating of the *fono* in the kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' may therefore mean either a ritual repetition of the original eating up of 'Aho'eitu, or, more probably, a symbolic statement to the effect that only titles that are either (a) the embodiment of the Tu'i Tonga or (b) ritual outsiders can assimilate themselves directly to the male principle of the Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

What of Leach's claim that structuralist analysis is 'intui- 114
tion free'? In the sense that the analysis uses as data only 121
texts, ceremonies, and abstractions of organizational principles, it is relatively free from contamination either by the observer's or the informants' imputations of meaning and feeling to behaviour. Fieldwork becomes unnecessary, except that one must have a little contact with informants in order to collect texts, observe the ceremonies, and abstract the organizational principles. The analysis requires familiarity with and acceptance of the condensations, displacements, representation by

83: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

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reversal, and the symbolic equivalences peculiar to the logic of what Freud called the primary process, but such familiarity is now so general among western intellectuals that acceptance of primary process thinking can hardly be said to require intuition. The ability to analyse it is another matter, and clearly Dr Leach has a considerable gift for such analysis.

But can one disprove or prove a structuralist interpretation more readily than a psychoanalytic or functionalist one? I doubt it. So many equivalences can be established that one can arrive at a considerable range of possible interpretations- and the choice of one rather than another depends on 'feel' as well as logic.

I find structuralist analysis exciting because it shows how an understanding of primary process thinking can be applied to the cultural products of many societies, and because it indicates the universality of a small number of logical problems: How did man begin? How are the two sexes related to each other? What does death mean? and so on.

I find myself dissatisfied with the approach on two counts. (1) It places exclusive emphasis on the logical/cognitive aspect of the basic human dilemmas, evidently regarding their emotional aspects as irrelevant or uninteresting. (2) The logic is insufficiently linked with social behaviour. It is like a purely formal analysis of dreams, revealing their peculiar logic and a few of the universal intellectual problems with which they deal' but showing little of the specific anxieties and defences that an understanding of each dream can elucidate. 'The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind,' Freud said in the early days of psycho, analysis, but he did not regard the analysis of them as an end in itself, which structuralist anthropologists seem to be in danger of doing. But, even with this danger, it is refreshing to have some emphasis on universals again after two generations of functionalist particularism.

I think there is a marked similarity in the methods used in applying the concepts of all three frames of reference – func-

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tionalist, structuralist, and psychoanalytic. All three have been 114 developed in an attempt to interpret facts in certain situations 121 and all three have then been used to illuminate facts in other situations, usually with some modification of the frame of reference in the process. I object to Leach's statement that psychoanalytic concepts are 'dogma', meaning that they have no relation to observed facts. They have been developed to explain observed facts, and the development has led to a much more complete understanding of cognitive, perceptual, and emotional processes in human beings than existed beforehand. I do not think this considerable body of constructs needs to be re-established every time a new bit of data is looked at any more than I would expect Leach or Lévi-Strauss to re-examine for each new social context the notion, for example, that 'the other world' is a place where everything stands on its head.

The content of the three frames of reference is of course different. The functionalist frame of reference purports to be entirely social, though it makes certain 'crude' and sometimes implicit assumptions about human nature. The structuralist frame of reference makes certain assertions about human cognitive processes. The psychoanalytic frame of reference makes a very similar set of assertions about certain types of cognitive process, but sets them in a wider interpretive framework. Leach does not distinguish between primary and secondary process thinking, a differentiation that becomes important when one tries to link analysis of cognitive aspects of behaviour with analysis of its perceptual and emotional aspects. Nor, of course, does the structuralist frame of analysis lead one to concepts of anxiety, defence, or to the reasons for keeping certain ideas, both individual and cultural, in a partially understood form. I think it is the extreme intellectualism of structuralism that is so limiting, but, paradoxically, it is also the main source of its appeal.

It is very difficult to frame hypotheses from any of the three conceptual systems in a form that can be proved or disproved. Acceptance or rejection rests on whether or not the hypotheses

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114 illuminate the facts, which in turn depends on many factors,
121 including the preferences and prejudices of the reader. My own preferences and prejudices lead me to accept Leach's structuralist interpretations of the kava ceremony and myths, for they link and illuminate facts that were not as adequately linked before. I find his interpretations elegant, though restricted. But I also find plausible my own interpretation that the kava ceremony and myths are statements about emotional and social as well as logical/cognitive problems.

Thus, even though my original paper was not written with
121 Audrey Richards's work in mind, her writings and my personal contact with her have obviously influenced my thinking. In particular, I find myself in agreement with her stress on the importance of the problem one is studying instead of adherence to the somewhat arbitrary demarcations of disciplines that now form the traditional definitions of university departments. This is not to condone confusion of level of conceptual analysis, though it suggests the wisdom of keeping an open mind on whether the current fashion in defining levels of analysis is the most useful. Like Audrey Richards, I am wary of single explanations of ritual behaviour, however elegant. As she says in concluding her analysis of *chisungu*, the girls' initiation rite among the Bemba (1956, p. 169), 'Single explanations of ritual behaviour, however satisfying to the observer, seem to me to deny the nature of symbolism itself and its use in human society to express the accepted and approved as well as the hidden and denied, the rules of society and the occasional revolt against them, the common interests of the community and the conflicting interests of different parts of it.' This later addition to the dialogue between myself and Dr Leach is given here in recognition of this agreement and in tribute to her work.

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MUSICAL ACCULTURATION IN TONGA

By MAJOR R. RAVEN-HART

533 177 121 A FEATURE which appears to have received little attention in anthropological study is that of the changes made to adapt " Western " music to the indigenous musical taste. It is suggested that a study of such changes might lead to the establishing of a musical idiom for the area concerned, in the way that the Scottish " snap " and the Maori *hianga*-slide have been established as typifying those idioms. Such a study should be of particular value where the original indigenous music has been entirely, or almost entirely lost, as is regrettably the case in most of " Trinesia " (to coin a term to embrace Poly-, Micro- and Melanesia).

It is obvious how such changes occur, and in fact must occur, where the original tunes are not readily available in printed form. Someone from a village, for example, hears on a visit to a town a new and attractive tune in church or on the street. He is unlikely to know the staff notation; he is more likely to carry the tune, more or less correctly, in his head than to write it down then and there in the very practical numerical " sol-fa " notation used on many of the islands. On his return home he sings the tune, almost inevitably with variants to suit himself; others pick it up from him, and in their turn introduce their own variants. Finally, a new version settles into use.

121 [128] [101] During a ten-week stay on Vava'u Island many such variants were noted; the help given by the Rev. K. D. Grove, Chairman of the Methodist District, must be gratefully acknowledged, as also that from Mr. P. Latu, choirmaster, and Mr. L. Manu, choir member of the Methodist Church; the Rev. Fr. Gregory and Mr. Tapueluelu, Headmaster of St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) school; and from many others, ranging from small boys to professional musicians.

[128] It had not been thought probable that any material could be collected during a two-week stay at Apia, but thanks to the Rev. P. Kightley of the L.M.S. there, and to the boys of his school, some interesting variants were obtained. Samoan material is enclosed in square brackets.

128 The following is a small selection from the material collected, well-known tunes having been preferred whenever possible. The author would be very grateful for any further material, especially from the less accessible islands (Cook, Nieue, Gilbert, etc.). To simplify typography, a modified sol-fa notation has been used, " x " standing for a rest, and the beats being divided by colons. Notes within the octave upwards from the keynote are in roman capitals, below that keynote in lower-case italics, and above that octave in parentheses.

[p. 110]

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally 565
supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, 178
influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly 565
criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society 178
that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The
tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 829
1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations 185
with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and 565
conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and
activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally.
As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European [171]
societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary
nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a
degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating
changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined 565
by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the 428
social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble
title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose 121
of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and
to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility
in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and 114
activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a 131
total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International
Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest
of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are 361
clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including
the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital
of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small
islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing 161
population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land
shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, 178
have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from 166
the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration 167
abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan
economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by 433
241

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

121 This book is intended for the use of secondary schools in Tonga
127 and is based entirely on the following authorities :—

113 *Martin : "Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands."*

"Captain Cook's Voyages of Discovery."

Zimmermann : "Third Voyage of Captain Cook."

Wilson : "Missionary Voyage of the 'Duff'."

Orange : "Life of Vason."

Farmer : "Tonga and the Friendly Islands."

West : "Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia."

Thomson : "Diversions of a Prime Minister."

Wilkes : "Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition."

Gifford : "Tongan Society" (Bishop Museum).

Gifford : "Tongan Myths and Tales" (Bishop Museum).

Gifford : "Tongan Place Names" (Bishop Museum).

McKern : "Archæology of Tonga" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott : "Poems and Tales of Tonga" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott and Havea : "Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans" (Bishop Museum).

Collocott : "Koe Ta'u 'e Teau."

Collocott : "Experiment in Tongan History" (Polynesian Society Journal).

"Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. II, Central Groups" (Admiralty).

Brigham : "Index to the Islands of the Pacific" (Bishop Museum).

Admiralty Charts.

Tonga Government Reports and Papers, etc.

Sir Thomas Henley, of Sydney, has kindly lent the block of the Ha'amoga Trilithon and the Diagram of Falcon Island.

000 **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

**The Tongan Agricultural System: With
Special Emphasis on Plant
Assemblages**

by

Randolph Robert Thaman
Doctor of Philosophy in Geography
University of California, Los Angeles, 1975
Professor Jonathan D. Sauer, Chairman

105 Despite continued exposure to foreign technologies and
241 value systems, the Tongan agricultural system is still
178 characterized by bush-fallow cultivation and a dependence
177 on root crops grown in association with a great variety of
traditional and some recently introduced cultivated and
wild plants. The system, however, seems to be undergoing
rapid change due to a number of factors, including increasing
population pressure on land, increasing dependence on
the cash economy and commercial agriculture, and introduced
121 technology. This dissertation attempts to examine the
system as it existed in 1971-1972 in order to gain a better
understanding of the nature of the plant assemblages, their
importance to the Tongan society and present and future

121 developmental trends.

101 The research was conducted from January 1971 through
January 1972 on the main island of the Tongan archipelago,
127 Tongatapu. Data sources included archives and government
124 departments, aerial photographs, market studies, personal
interviews, questionnaire surveys, and in-the-field in-
121 ventories of random samples of agricultural holdings. The
423 major foci of the study were the plant assemblages found
241 on bush and town allotments, to which all Tongan males over
16 years of age are entitled. The bulk of agricultural
241 produce comes from the bush allotments which average about
8 acres (3.2 hectares) in size, with additional produce
coming from town allotments where residences are normally
found, and which average about 0.4 acre (0.16 hectare) in
area.

Survey results indicate that approximately 34 percent of the area on bush allotments was under cultivation, the rest remaining in various stages of fallow. Of the cultivated area, 87 percent was devoted to subsistence cropping, 11 percent to commercial cropping, and the balance to a combination of the two. The most widespread staple crops were manioc, American taro, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, giant taro and plantains. Bananas comprised 42 percent of the commercial acreage with the balance consisting of crops such as watermelons, pineapples, peanuts, plantains, corn and garden vegetables. Intercropping was

241 The present Tongan farmers have a wealth of empirical
433 knowledge about their environment and traditional crops and
cropping practices. Unfortunately, as suggested by
Schultz, new forms of capital are needed to provide for the
241 future. Foreign degrees in agricultural science, agri-
433 cultural machinery, pesticides and fertilizers, breeding
178 stock and planting material from overseas, and technical
177 and financial aid are already beginning to bring about
242 changes in the traditional agricultural system.

__Nature__ __of__ __Study__

128 It is the primary aim of this dissertation to look at the Tongan agricultural system as it existed in 1971-1972. Particular emphasis will be placed on plant species, plant associations, and selected agricultural practices.
121 There are two major reasons for conducting an investigation of this nature. The first is the general concern which geographers have for man's relationship with and effect on the earth. A much more immediate reason, however, is that because steadily increasing population pressure is forcing agricultural systems to change dramatically, better understanding of traditional agricultural systems can help effect change with minimum cultural disruption and shock.

Studies which have dealt with some aspects of traditional Pacific Island agricultural systems are numerous. Most of these fall into four general categories:

1) general descriptions of the agricultural landscape and

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agricultural practices; 2) ethnologies or ethnographies which treat agricultural systems as components of a given culture; 3) studies which stress the economic functions of the agricultural systems; and, 4) botanical studies of the natural and cultural flora of a given agricultural system.

The general descriptive studies include works by members of early exploring expeditions, missionaries, travelers, and expatriate administrators. The focus on agriculture is cursory, as a rule, including only major crops and salient features.

The ethnologies and ethnographies have been done primarily by anthropologists. Although information on crop types and agricultural practices is included, the major focus is generally on features such as language, kinship, marriage, religion, exchange, and ceremony. One notable exception is a work by Handy (1940) which deals comprehensively with almost all aspects of the pre-European agricultural system in Hawaii.

Economic studies of traditional Pacific Island agricultural systems have been done primarily by geographers and, in most cases, focus on social, economic, and commercial functions as well as on agents of change. Most of these studies (like the early descriptive studies and ethnologies) emphasize the major crops, almost to the exclusion of other plants which are important components of the system.

The only body of literature which discusses the minor plants of traditional Pacific agricultural systems in any detail are botanical or floristic studies. These studies, although noting uses, local names and habitats of the plants, are basically lists of floras and do not look at the individual plant species as part of the integrated agricultural system.

The only notable works on traditional Pacific Island agricultural systems which attempt to look at the multiplicity of crop and plant species in the context of the traditional agricultural system are the previously mentioned work on Hawaii (Handy, 1940) and two by Barrau (1958, 1961). Barrau's studies are very comprehensive and give descriptions of major crops, supplementary food and fiber crops, agricultural practices, and evaluations of subsistence agricultural systems for representative islands throughout the Pacific. Owing to the broad perspective of these studies, however, they do not examine any one system in great detail.

This dissertation attempts to look at the Tongan system in detail and to integrate the floristic approach of the botanists with the more analytical approach taken by the anthropologists, geographers, economists, and other researchers. Accordingly, entire assemblages of plants, major and minor alike, which constitute the system, will

121 be treated on a statistical as well as a descriptive basis with respect to their distribution and frequency. The study will also examine significant input variables and outputs of the system. The components of the study can be summarized diagramatically:

INPUT VARIABLES	RESULTANT SYSTEM	OUTPUTS
Pool of Plant Species Environmental Parameters Cultural Practices	Traditional Tongan Agricultural Plant Assemblages	Products of Economic and Social Value

Scope of Study

For practical reasons, the study was restricted to the main island of the Tongan Archipelago, Tongatapu. The problems associated with the acquisition of field and other data are considerably reduced on Tongatapu owing to its superior transportation network and the presence there of almost all government departments, archives, and other sources of published materials.

241
423
[121]
The focus will be on the agricultural system as practiced on the traditional bush allotments ('api 'uta) and town allotments ('api kolo). Excluded are limited areas of government, royal, noble, and leasehold land. There were recorded (as of December 1971) 5652 'api 'uta on the island of Tongatapu, averaging just over 8

127 The land tenure system was studied using land
registers and survey maps with the help of the staff of
121 the Land and Survey Department, Nuku'alofa. The aim was
to gather precise data on the total number and area of
the different types of land holdings, which could in turn
be used as a sampling frame for statistical surveys.

127 Statistical data on the export of copra, bananas, and
other produce were gathered from records available at the
121 Tonga Copra and Tonga Produce Boards. These data were
439 important to the study because a large percentage of the
produce exported through these Boards originates from the
small landholders' bush allotments.

125 A year-long study of Talamahu Market in the capital
443 city of Nuku'alofa was carried out. Talamahu Market is
the only permanent market place in the Kingdom which serves
125 as an outlet for local produce. Throughout 1971 and the
beginning of 1972, the market was visited at least once a
week to determine the seasonality and types and quantities
of produce that were available.

125 On Saturday, January 22, 1972 from 6:00 A.M. to
114 10:00 P.M., seven senior high school students helped make
a complete inventory of the amount, origin, destination,
and means of transportation of all available commodities
for a single day.

127 Black-and-white aerial photography (at a scale of
128 1:20,000), flown in August 1968 for the British Directorate

PREFACE

The Methodist Church has been at work in Australia since 1815 and it sent 797
its first missionary to the Pacific Islands in 1822. It is now looking forward to
union with other Churches in Australia. Before its denominational identity ceases 121
it seems desirable to compile a history of Methodist Overseas Missions during the
past 150 years.

To write such a complete history is an audacious venture, and an ageing minister must have misgivings about the attempt. This volume deals with Tonga and Samoa. If a second volume can follow, it will take Fiji, Rotuma, and the Indian work in Fiji as the subject. It is expected that four volumes will be needed for the whole history.

Until 1855 the work of Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific was directed from 797
London. In that year Australasian Wesleyan Methodism became self-governing and solely responsible for the work in the Pacific. In 1902 the union of the various branches of Methodism produced the Methodist Church of Australasia. In the interests of simplicity "Australia" is generally used in this history instead of the ecclesiastically correct "Australasia".

New Zealand Methodism separated from Australia in 1913. I have not 000
encroached on the history of missionary work among the Maoris in New Zealand because a history in this section has been published by the Methodist Church in that country. I acknowledge some overlapping in recording the history of the Solomon Islands Mission, which was established from Australia in 1902 and came under the control of the Methodist Church in New Zealand in 1922.

I have given prominence to Tonga, largely because I served there from 1924 797
to 1937 and have kept in touch with Tonga ever since. Also, Tonga merits close [114]
attention as the first Wesleyan field and one where events of importance for missionary study took place; if we seek lessons about motives, methods, and mistakes, Tonga provides these.

As far as a Methodist minister and a former missionary can do so, I have 121
written objectively in this history. Not only successes but what seemed to me errors in policy and failures needed to be recorded, and I have endeavoured to be accurate and impartial. I have relied mainly on missionaries' journals and correspondence.

It was hoped that this history would have been published in 1972, to mark 114
the 150th anniversary of Walter Lawry's landing in Tonga, but it appears before 797
1976, the year commemorating the arrival of the veteran, John Thomas.

I acknowledge, first, my sense of privilege in studying, and in attempting to 000
narrate, the deeds of many noble men and women who have laboured in Overseas Missions in the past 150 years. I have been indebted to those whose assistance with material and advice I acknowledge, and I apologize for inadvertent omissions from a list which includes His Majesty King Taufa'ahau IV; the Premier, Prince Tu'ipelehake; Dr. W. Niel Gunson, Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra; Dr. Sione Latukefu, Department of History, University of Papua and New Guinea; Dr. Noel Rutherford, Department of

000 have been encouraged to ask for independence as soon as they desired it, and their requests have been willingly and immediately granted. So also in Papua, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, the local desire for union with the Church that sprang from the London Missionary Society in Papua has been readily recognized by the parent Churches in Australia and New Zealand. The "winds of change" have been regarded as giving new life and hope, through local independence and through unity with other denominations. At the same time the missionary ardour of all the island Churches has not slackened and they are still sending some of their best-equipped ministers and teachers to pioneer areas, such as the Papua-New Guinea Highlands.

121 This history of Wesleyan Missions seeks to describe how the determination to propagate Christianity has been shown by missionaries in the past 150 years and how a new generation of ecumenically-minded Christians is endeavouring to meet the needs of a new age.

With no desire to be unduly laudatory, a history of this kind should include 797 a tribute to the heroism of many faithful men and women. Two sections reveal special heroism. One is the noble band of Pacific Islands ministers and teachers, the brown missionaries who have gone to other lands and faced the dangers of hostile inhabitants, new diseases, the risk of death and burial in strange countries (a more serious fear for islanders than for white people). Very often these brown missionaries were more successful than their European leaders, in winning converts, shepherding them, and establishing churches in new areas — many hundreds of miles from their own lands to which large numbers of them never returned.

The other group meriting mention is the company of women, English gentlewomen, the wives of the missionaries in the earlier years, and their successors, together with missionary sisters, nurses, and teachers, in later years. The wives of the missionaries in the first half of the 19th Century left their homeland in the days of slow sailing-ships, with the discomforts of travel in stormy seas and with congested accommodation. They fulfilled their duties as wives and mothers while supporting their husbands and making their own valuable contribution to the work of the Missions. They accepted isolation, with conditions of living very different from those to which they were accustomed, with treacherous islanders and real dangers in some cases, and with the practical annoyances of short supplies of food and other necessities when the next ship often did not come for twelve months. It would be an offence against truth and honour to omit a word of homage to these devoted women of Wesleyan Missions in the Pacific.

457 pattern I believe that some of the problems are due to
458 increased tourist growth. Tongans must first stabilize
435 their basic economy before designs should be made for
increased tourist growth.

A CLOSER LOOK AT TOURISM

● 121 Borrowing some ideas from the late distinguished
scholar, Jacob Bronowski, and the Australian
academician, Derek Freeman, I should like to suggest
that we need to look at the Pacific (and the people of
Tonga) in terms of an "evolutionary model" of development.
As Freeman has aptly stated it, "In recent years,
evolutionary theory has emerged saliently as the unifying
paradigm of all the biological sciences, from biochemistry
to ecology."[7][A] Evolution may be seen in the
[182] twentieth century terms of neutrality: the adaptation
of an organism to an environment. Successful adaptation
comes by means of cooperation and not by
competition.[8][B]

Bronowski looks at the "evolution of complexity"[C] and develops the model of "stratified stability"[9] which states that evolution proceeds from

[p. 89-C]

A, B, C, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91-A]

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which
becomes progressively more complex.

For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific
457 Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with–
179 and perhaps only after–several basic components of
the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.[10] A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in
[439] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while
[228] the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66
tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to
457 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans
179 to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-
228 year program funded by the United Nations Develop-
ment Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the
648 local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans
with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

The UNDP (along with the International
457 Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic
648 aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the training session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

Development of tourism design must go
167 hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more
464 must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to
[457] stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unem-
ployment, the increasing influence of Western values,
[179] and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New
Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga.
167 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects
464 the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: pri-
vate and government building in Tonga has fallen behind
179 as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is
lying unused. One government building project lost two-thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade
167 is also true for the private farmer:

> 464 If the drain of laborers to New Zea-
> 179 land goes unchecked, a crisis could de-
> 241 velop in Tonga's agriculture. This
> warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand–even temporarily–was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

5

Tourism in Tonga: Troubled Times

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

The Kingdom of Tonga lies in the heart of fabled Polynesia, approximately 131
550 miles southwest of Samoa and 450 miles southeast of Fiji. The
tiny kingdom encompasses approximately 289 square miles and supports [161]
an estimated (1975) population of 100,105—an average density of more
than 346 persons per square mile. However, the actual usable land
available for settlement is only 190 square miles, giving a true population
density of 532 persons per square mile. The population is not evenly [162]
distributed and the largest island of the group, Tongatapu (100 square
miles with a population of 52,000) is the economic center for the
archipelago. This island has also been the historic residence of the [633]
aboriginal (Royal) leaders, and Nuku'alofa—the largest city, the capital,
and the main tourist target—is located there.

Formerly a British protectorate, Tonga achieved independence in 1970 642
and entered the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Constitutional
Monarchy dates to 1875 and the current monarch, His Majesty King [643]
Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, acceded to the throne in 1965. Tongan is the
official language, English is the second language and most Tongans are 197
bilingual. The population is also ethnically uniform: 98 percent of the 191
population are Tongans, and all are stalwart Christians. The 1966 census 162
listed 77,429 inhabitants, only 61 of whom failed to declare a religious 771
affiliation.

Tourism is nascent in Tonga, but the number of visitors is increasing 457
annually due to extensive overseas promotions that stress, in colorful
brochures, the beauty of "unspoiled" Polynesia, where English is spoken
and where there is a "real live King (and Queen)." Although Tonga is the
last surviving Polynesian Kingdom, it is far from being the "storybook"
land of the culture brokers. It is an overpopulated and underdeveloped
tiny nation, struggling to maintain its cultural integrity in the face of
twentieth-century changes. There are serious internal economic problems
in Tonga, for which tourism might be the panacea. This case study [121]

121 examines the impact of tourism on the Tongan economy and the social
457 and cultural problems associated with the advent of recent mass tourism.

The Economic Problem

433 Tonga is primarily an agricultural nation of small landholders. Despite
Government efforts to modernize and increase food production, the
natural resources of the islands are inadequate to feed the growing
population. For greater cash-flow, primarily to meet Tongan consumer
433 demands for Western products, Tonga has become an exporter of
439 agricultural commodities. It is germane to note, however, that foodstuffs
[177 (especially meat and chicken) account for almost a third of Tonga's
annual imports. In 1973, for example, total exports amounted to almost
us$5,000,000, with copra being the most important export (at
146 us$3,347,000). Dietary inadequacies among Tongans, occasioned by high
food costs, are best assessed by the Minister of Health who stated in 1973
that protein-calorie malnutrition is prevalent among young Tongan
children to a disturbing degree. In the same year seventeen cases of
severe "nutritional deficiency" required hospitalization, two of which
became fatalities.

Spiraling inflation has eroded Tongan buying power over recent years,
458 as indicated by the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Established in 1969 with
435 a September base of 100.0, the CPI is based on the purchasing power of a
"typical" Tongan family earning less than us$37 per week. Heavily biased
towards food items (64 percent of all items on the index), the CPI has
risen steadily (Figure 1) to 172.4 in six years. Increases in food prices, both
domestic and imported, have consistently contributed most to this
upward trend. In one of the largest overall increases, 11.4 percent in the
quarter of June-September 1973, the fruit and vegetable component of
the CPI increased by 46.9 percent. In the second largest increase, 11.2
percent from December 1972-March 1973, this same sub-group of basic
staples increased by 33.1 percent, while the cereal subgroup (bread, flour,
and rice) increased by 31.6 percent.

464 Unemployment is another critical economic problem. In an island
world where land is extremely important, many adult Tongans are
without land. Although every Tongan male, upon reaching the age of
[882 sixteen (and becoming a taxpayer) is entitled to some "bush land" for
crops and "town land" for a home, there simply isn't enough to go around.
[423 The Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that in
1966, 59 percent of all men over sixteen years of age who were entitled to
tax allotments were landless and, no doubt, this proportion has increased
by 1971. Even if the unused areas are used it may provide employment
for about thirty-four hundred men, still leaving thousands unemployed.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TONGA: NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF TONGAN SOCIETY AND MATERIAL CULTURE AT THE TIME OF CAPTAIN COOK

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

175 Although Tonga was discovered in 1616 by Le Maire, fleetingly described by
Tasman in 1643, and the northern islands were seen by Wallis in 1767, real knowledge
of Tongan culture had to await Captain Cook's visits. The written accounts
175 and ethnographic collections resulting from Cook's voyages are often our major
127 source for understanding the character of Tongan culture in the eighteenth century.
Yet, despite drawings, descriptions, and identifications which are outstanding for
their time, little work has been done to interpret this early material in the light of
other kinds of research in order to delineate the relationship between material
culture and the social system.

[121] This article presents the preliminary results of several years' research in the field,
in libraries, and in museums in the Pacific, America and Europe, in which materials
from Cook's voyages have played a central role. Cook's visits to Tonga (1773–4)
on his second voyage are most important here. For although the visits were short, a
[439] great deal of trading was done; and only specimens and descriptions collected at
[177] that time are certain to be relatively free from European influence.[1]

Despite the abundance of artefacts and descriptions, their location and inter-
127 pretation are not as simple as one might expect.[2] Cook's crew often sold their
[439] 'curiosities' to the highest bidders and labels seldom accompanied them. At that
[175] time, moreover, some of the outstanding museums were private, for example,
those of George Humphrey, The Duchess of Portland, Daniel Boulter, William Bullock, and especially Sir Ashton Lever. Most of these early collections were eventually sold at auctions, and so the specimens became widely dispersed, often with the subsequent loss of the association with Cook. The owners of such 'cabinets of curiosities' usually had little interest in the precise identification or technical significance of the material, and items were regularly labelled simply 'South Seas'; indeed, 'Otahiti' often became a catchall term for the entire area. Some objects found their separate way to the British Museum, but little care was exercised in labelling them, either as having come from Cook's voyages or as to their original provenance. In fact most of these specimens seem not to have been numbered or labelled at the time of their acquisition. In the late nineteenth century, however, they were catalogued along with non-Cook specimens, apparently by Edge-Partington, and given a series of numbers reflecting their supposed origin. The collection was divided into four categories: *viz.*, HAW (Hawaii); TAH (Tahiti); NZ (New Zealand) and EP (eastern Polynesia). Some objects were assigned no numbers at all, and the Tongan material was for the most part not

127 The existence of the original *Catalogue* of the Forster collection and the corresponding items in the Pitt Rivers Museum make it possible to establish for Tonga a list of 'type specimens' of known eighteenth century date, provenance, and in most cases, use. These items establish the end product of purely indigenous lines of development, as well as a base for change which came about because of European contact, making it possible to use concepts of time depth and change in studying this material culture. On the basis of these type specimens, we can identify other Tongan collections, and consequently separate Tongan materials from Tahitian, which in most collections have been hopelessly mixed. Moreover, by comparing the Pitt Rivers collection with the sister collection in Göttingen, and with information from other eighteenth century voyages, notably Cook's third voyage and those of Malaspina (1792) and d'Entrecasteaux (1793), we can build up what seems to be a fairly reliable picture of much of Tongan material culture in the eighteenth
[121] century.[5] Finally, by interpreting these data in the light of ethnohistoric and
ethnographic research, we can understand how these items were used and how they reflected the stratified social system of Tonga.

* * * * *

173 According to Tongan tradition, one day the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a
climbed down from the sky on a great ironwood (casuarina) tree and cohabited
with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm.
The child of this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went
to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants. This
173 was the origin of Tongan social structure and rank. 'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god,
565 became the first Tu'i Tonga—the first king. His celestial half-brother, Talafale,
643 became Tu'i Faleua, i.e., head of the second house. Four others, known as the
Falefa, became ceremonial attendants to the king, each with specific duties, e.g.,
organising the king's funeral. All these personages were socially elevated above
Tongan commoners—the *tu'a*, who had descended from the worm. This myth
thus provides a charter for one pattern of Tongan rank—the stratification of the
society into *tu'i* (king), *'eiki* (chiefs), *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), and *tu'a*
(commoners) (see Kaeppler in press).

'Aho'eitu, half-man, half-god, is said to have lived over a thousand years ago
(about A.D. 950) and all the chiefs of Tonga today claim descent from him through
collateral segmentation. The chiefs are ranked according to the order of the
[613] splitting of their titles from the Tu'i Tonga line, and these lines (*ha'a*) are also ranked
internally according to the same collateral principles.

565 The commoners are thus differentiated from the chiefs, and the chiefs are
ranked in relation to each other. Each chief receives respect from his people—and
he, in turn, must respect the higher ranking chiefs. At the top of this hierarchy is the
[643] Tu'i Tonga, descending in a direct line from the god Tangaloa. The thirty-sixth
[173] Tu'i Tonga was Paulaho, whom Captain Cook met on his third voyage.

The most crucial concept for any understanding of Tongan culture, in Captain
Cook's time or today, is that of hierarchical ranking. All inter-personal relationships
in this island kingdom are governed by principles of rank, and language, food and
material culture reflect this pattern. Cook and his companions did not have
[175] sufficient time or knowledge of the language to sort out the intricacies of the system

175 as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank.
765 Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before
(Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala,
554 i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line
612 were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning
ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand
[292] Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all
dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat
round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

612 This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his
kāinga. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at
602 the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged
764 mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1*c*). A
765 Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the
292 queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the
most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

● 121 In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few
types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships
of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs
175 met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and
565 also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8]
554 These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class
structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's
126 voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the
285 most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or
[431] one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal
ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own,
being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known
285 today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may
127 be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they
may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have
been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as
Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

175 In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts
of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their
285 Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the
291 breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or
upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole
1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual
[554] symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only
wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces ... or the
Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967:
175 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:
285
513

A.[See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of breadfruit
252 with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make breadfruit
paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
[175] voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
(Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
[643] performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
[178] ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
535 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate *6a*)A shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
[178] dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
[181] contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
[593] sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the placement
[554] of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
127 totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our under-
121 standing of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of

175 A.[See End Plate 6, following p.220--Analyst]

social interaction among Tongans in this early period has been very useful in interpreting 121 both traditions about early Tongan social organisation that no longer 175 exists, and present-day social organisation. A fresh look at the results of Cook's voyages has been most rewarding in this attempt to interpret Tongan material culture in the context of its eighteenth-century social system, and perhaps would be equally rewarding for other island groups visited by Cook.

NOTES

This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the University of Oxford in May 1970. 121 It was associated with a special exhibition at the Pitt Rivers Museum of the J. R. Forster [127] collection obtained on Cook's second voyage.

Research on Tongan material culture was carried out in museums in the U.S.A. mainland, 114 Hawaii, Fiji, and Europe from 1967 to 1970 supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Eighteen months fieldwork in Tonga from 1964 to 1967 was 122 supported by Wenner-Gren and Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5F1-MH-25, 984-02 (101) from the National Institute of Mental Health. To both of these agencies I wish to express my appreciation. I wish to thank the many museums that permitted me to study their collections, 114 especially the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, whose collection is the basis of this article, and Peter (127) Gathercole, at that time Lecturer in Ethnology, University of Oxford, for helpful comments on the manuscript. I would also like to acknowledge permission from the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, to publish the photographs in plates 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 taken by Peter Narracott; [128] plate 7, supplied by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna; and plate 8, supplied by the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. My thanks are also due to Bruce Erickson of Bishop Museum for the prints in plates 1, 2, 3, and 13—plates 1 and 2 are from the volume of plates from Cook's second voyage, plate 13 is from the volume of plates from Cook's third voyage, and plate 3, is from a kodachrome transparency taken by the author.

[1] Not entirely free, of course, because Le Maire, Tasman, and Wallis had traded also. In fact, 000 the Forsters collected a nail that tradition said came from a European, and which was hafted in Tongan style and used as a gouge—now in Pitt Rivers Museum.

[2] See Whitehead 1969 for similar difficulties in trying to trace zoological specimens from Cook's voyages, and he was not trying to identify his specimens by voyage.

[3] Cleveley was a draughtsman who sailed on the *Adventure*, but left the Cook expedition to go to Iceland with Banks. It is likely that these objects were given to Banks after the second voyage and depicted by his artist, Cleveley, especially as it is thought that Banks gave the volume of prints in which it appears to the British Museum. The volume is noted: 'It is not known how or when these volumes came to the Print Room but probably with some others bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks and placed there in 1832 and transferred to the Dept. of M.S. in 1845'. Perhaps the baskets were given to the Department of Ethnography at the same time. The date 1774 is a mystery. It cannot refer to the date of the drawing because the Cook expedition did not return to England until 1775. It may refer to the date of collection, because the expedition was in Tonga in 1774.

[4] The Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum also has other volumes of drawings which are very useful for identifying objects from Cook's voyage.

[5] For a comprehensive study of Tongan material culture see Kaeppler (in preparation).

[6] Smith is probably correct, for in a preliminary study for this engraving, now in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (NPL:M (PXD59–^{1})), the figures in the boat are drawn by one artist (Hodges?) while the figures on shore are *not* only drawn by another artist (Cipriani?), but the paper on which they are sketched is pasted over the Hodges part of the sketch.

[7] It is interesting to note that the Mitchell Library sketch referred to in note 6 is done showing all the fingers on the hands—and it was probably Hodges who instructed the engraver to remove the fingers from the final version.

[8] The outstanding Tongan collections from the third voyage are the Webber collection in [127] Bern, Switzerland, and the collection in Vienna, Austria, purchased at the sale of the Leverian Museum in London in 1806.

[9] See also Moschner 1967; colour plate 5, for a photograph of the other side of the headdress.

[10] It is reproduced in Beaglehole 1967: plate 17, following p. 144, and in Rienits & Rienits 1968: 136.

[11] For a discussion of continuity and change in Tongan dance and social organisation, see Kaeppler 1967, and 1970.

[12] The movement is written in Labanotation in Kaeppler 1967: 515.

93: Urbanowicz E-4 (1970-1971) 1978
OU9 Tonga OU9

MOTIVES AND METHODS: MISSIONARIES IN TONGA IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY(1)

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114 A variety of writers, including Scarr,(2) Rutherford,(3) Kennedy,(4) and Barney(5) have presented more than adequate views of selected Tongan political matters after the mid-19th century and into the early part of the 20th century. Decktor Korn's recent exemplary works(6) clearly indicate that quite a bit of "re-thinking" is still needed in the realm of interpreting
121 changing and aboriginal Tongan culture. It is the intention of this brief article to place early 19th century Tongan affairs into additional ethnographic perspective by means of ethnohistorical techniques.(7)

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128 1. Earlier versions of this paper were prepared for a variety of Symposia sponsored by the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO); the 71st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 29–December 2, 1972; the Second Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 21–25, 1973; and the Fourth Annual Meeting of the ASAO, March 26–30, 1975. Numerous individuals have commented on my Tongan work, none of whom, of course, is responsible for what
101 is presented. Research was conducted in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga from July to October 1970 and again from August to October 1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major libraries of Fiji, New Zealand,
127 and Australia. Most of the research was done in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Permission to work with and cite from the various sources held by the numerous institutions is greatfully acknowledged (see Urbanowicz 1972: vi-vii).

2. Scarr 1968.
3. Rutherford 1971.
4. Kennedy 1972.
5. Barney 1974.
6. Decktor Korn 1974, 1975. Increasing interest is also evident by a forthcoming volume edited by Rutherford, advertised as *The Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*.
7. The term "ethnohistory" is not synonymous with "culture history" as the distinguished Pacific historian H. E. Maude has written (1971:21). The "-history" in the term refers not to the writing of history, but to the application of historical methods to a given body of data, in order to gather verifiable ethnographic facts of the past. See, for example, Biggs (1960), Maranda (1964), Oppenheim (1973), Oliver (1974), or Urbanowicz (1973 and 1975). Unquestionably, historical processes are discussed in the various presentations, but the emphasis in the term "ethnohistory" is on the elucidation of reputable ethnographic evidence of the past. Oliver's 20-year labour of love, for there is no other way to phrase it adequately, is a clear example of what can be accomplished in the realm of Pacific ethnohistory, given a sufficient amount of time and resources; Maranda's work is a classic indication that some of Sahlins' specifics and generalisations (1958) are unwarranted; and Biggs and Oppenheim have each contributed to a further clarification of Maori life by means of ethnohistorical techniques.

Demographic Aspects of Ethnography: Data from the Tonga Islands*

by Shulamit R. Decktor Korn
State University of New York at Albany

121 In recent years there has been a number of articles promoting and supporting inter-disciplinary collaboration between anthropologists and demographers. The purpose of this paper is to carry forward the attempt to alert both demographers and anthropologists to the demographic potential of ethnographic data. I write not so much as a proselytizer but as one who has been converted, and I am concerned here with both the potential and the limitations of ethnographic data that are collected without demographic analysis in mind.

128 The type of data I wish to focus on are those collected in the course of the kind of censusing that anthropologists call a household survey. These are hard data whose quantity, range, and reliability recommend their use as a data-source for demographic analysis. The reason I focus on these data is that the household survey, together with participant-observation and intensive interviewing, is part of the basic procedure of the field ethnographer conducting a community-based study (Carroll
121 1975b, Colson 1967, Mitchell 1967, Pelto 1970). Thus, demographic data derived from household surveys are of particular interest for their possible contribution to demography because these materials are collected by anthropologists as a matter of course. Furthermore, these are often data from the non-western societies that are the typical locales of anthropological research, precisely where conventional demographic data-sources are most deficient. If these materials could be made available to demographers, their contribution would go beyond anthropologists providing demographers with understanding of the social and

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

cultural context of population characteristics. The difference is that in one case the demographer is invited onto anthropological territory, and in the other case the anthropologist speaks the demographer's language. 121

Enumerating the Population of Motulahi

Rather than continuing to discuss household surveys in the abstract, I shall use my own data from the Kingdom of Tonga as an example. These materials were collected in the course of an anthropological investigation of local organization in Tonga (conducted over a ten-month period in 1969—70). 101

The Tonga Islands lie just west of the International Dateline in the South Pacific Ocean, east of Fiji and south of Samoa. There are about 150 named islands, but most of them are little more than elevated reefs and have no potential for cultivation or settlement. Thirty-six islands were inhabited at the time of the last reported census, held in 1966 (Fiefia 1968, Rogers 1969). These inhabited islands comprise 238.81 square miles, almost 90 % of the land area of Tonga. At the census of [161] 1966 the population was 77,429, of whom 98.31 % were classified as [162] Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders). The majority of the population lives in villages [361] that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlements. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of [241] those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their [433] livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

My research was based in the village of Motulahi, one of the largest villages on Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga. It might be asked whether Motulahi is a typical village. However, the nation of a typical village has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from the capital town and another at the far end of Tongatapu. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of size cuts across the dimension of location. There 114 184

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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Tongatapu
Motulahi

184 are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting,
population density, and a number of social, political, and economic
factors. Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that there
162 is a very large number of people in the village. According to the census
361 of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1122, making it one of only
621 eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than
one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga
had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all
these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total popula-
tion of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages.

125 Before proceeding to examine the population of Motulahi, something
should be said about the difficulty of making a statement about who
the people of any village in Tonga *are*. My household survey was con-
ducted intermittently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing
[484] at intervals until about the middle of May. By the end of that period,
[166] some of the people who were enumerated earlier in the survey were no
longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some
other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had
● 121 already surveyed the household in which they lived. Demographers
commonly deal with these fluctuations by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution of the problem of ethnographic description (Carroll 1975a, Colson 1967). My lack of concern at that time for the demographic significance of the data I was collecting is revealed by the fact that I did not take the simple step of making an enumeration of the population present on one day. Instead, what I did was try to keep track of the people whose existence I was aware of, noting changes in household composition and migration in and out of the village. It was in considering how to deal with these data that I came to realize that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of proper description of local organization in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1975). Again, since I gave no thought to the compilation of statistics on migration, I made no effort to ascertain exactly when these residential changes took place. What I wanted to determine was the reasons and circumstances that caused people to make their moves.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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Motulahi

621 common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with
162 a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on
871 [168] the main island.

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when
we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are
considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for
[562] the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over
[166] females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the
fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education oppor-
tunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in
moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there.
[464] The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might
be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be
living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in
some job while the wife and children live where the children can take
121 advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great
162 deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the
national population calls for further demographic investigation, and
differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation
as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

125 Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were
114 collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one
thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on
people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was
usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the
nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and
there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's
age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the
first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age
must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the
value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to fer-
[163] tility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the
[162] most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young
[621] women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
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162 the national census. Rather, the point I wish to emphasize is that an
163 ethnographer is generally in far the best position to provide data whose
659 quality and accuracy are such that they may constitute a special con-
● [121] tribution: first, by providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data
[125] collected by means of conventional censusing, and second, by facilitating
demographic analyses that are either not possible or not feasible in the analysis of the conventionally-derived census.

121 As to the first contribution—providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing—I shall give an example from Tongan data relating to migration.

166 Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, slight shifts of population may have important consequences and therefore migration is a matter of considerable interest. In the words of the Census Officer for the 1966 census,

> "It will be proposed throughout this Report that the Tongan population
> [659] has become mobile, both internally and externally . . . The movement of people between the islands especially to Tongatapu, has reached a stage where governmental intervention in the supervision and planning of these migrations is urgently required." (Fiefia 1968: 11.)

Clearly, the Tongan government would like to have information about migration. However, as the following discussion shows, the notion of migration is not culturally neutral and the problem is how data on 'migration' are to be obtained.

659 In the national census reports, both for 1956 and 1966, there is a
166 comparison between place of birth and place of enumeration. The
difficulty with this is that while such a comparison tells us something
about population movement, it cannot be taken to be very informative
591 about the rate and direction of migration. This is because in Tonga,
particularly in the early years of a marriage until a couple establishes
their own household, there is a great deal of movement back and forth
between the wife's kin and the husband's kin. A child may be born at
the home of one set of grandparents, live for some time at the home of
another set (where some siblings may be born), and grow up at a third
659 place where the parents have established their own household. The
166 demographic difficulties resulting from this are partly recognized in the
report on the 1966 census:

125 person had been living during (or for most of) his first year of attendance at primary school, and to compare this datum with the place of [872] enumeration. The virtue of this datum is that is has a high degree of standardization (since attendance at primary school is compulsory for children over the age of six and does not begin before the child's fifth birthday), is easily recalled and can also be independently verified (by examination of school records), and eliminates the distortions introduced by short-term population movement. The problem of short-term movement to the place of enumeration remains, and this would have to be corrected for. Indeed, it is quite possible that a better index of popula-121 tion flow in Tonga could be devised. My point is that demographic indices, if they are to be of any practical use, must by ethnographically valid; and it is here that the ethnographer can make a special contribution to assuring the quality and integrity of demographic data.

The Ethnography of Ethnographic Censusing

Regarding the second contribution of ethnography to demography—that is, facilitating demographic analyses that are not possible or not feasible with the conventionally-derived census—the potential for this is dependent on the nature and quality of the ethnographer's census. Since I gave little thought to the demographic potential of the data collected in my household survey in Motulahi, something ought to be said about 125 my purpose in collecting these data. Here I should admit that the primary reason for the survey was because this is the sort of thing that anthropologists conducting community studies do. Even the least statistically-minded ethnographer nowadays feels called upon to present a minimum set of quantifiable materials relating to persons and households in the locality, including data on such matters as property ownership, income sources, religious affiliation, and so on. Since I was based in a particularly large village, the simplest way of ensuring that I had a full set of data relating to every person and household in the village was to conduct a systematic house-to-house survey, and that is what I did. While conducting the survey I also took the opportunity to map the village, noting the boundaries of each residential plot and the placement of structures on the plot. Again, this is something that ethnographers do as a matter of course. In every household I tried to obtain a set of

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976 .
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Motulahi

none was missed. In the course of this I was told about children who 125
had died, and I noticed that in many families some child had died. 124
I was particularly sensitive to this because I knew of two infants who had died in the period since I arrived in Motulahi (and a third died a few weeks before I left). Thus I began to ask explicitly about children who were no longer alive. By then, however, I was about half-way through the survey. So, while I have a fairly complete set of data relating to the number of surviving offspring, my information on the number of children ever born is incomplete and this limits the demographic value of my data on fertility and infant mortality. Similarly, I cannot make a complete enumeration of maternal age at the birth of the first child (even if I were sure of the woman's age), nor can I deal properly with the question of the length of birth intervals, because I failed to ask when children not resident in the household were born (see Table 2). These questions relate to demographic indices that are not available from the reports on the national census, and could have been an important contribution to the demography of Tonga (McArthur 1968: 94--95). Had I recognized the demographic significance of such enquiry at the time of fieldwork, the overall value of the data that I did collect could have been enhanced with little extra effort.

Conclusion

In this paper I have called attention to demographic aspects of some of 121
the data anthropologists collect as a matter of course while in the field. [128]
Using materials from my own fieldwork, I have tried to show both the promise and the limitations of these data. My claim is that materials collected by anthropologists have considerable potential as a data-source for demographic analysis, but anthropologists must learn the elements of demography before they can be of more than limited use to demographers. My own case serves as an object lesson that unless anthropologists are mindful of the demographic implications of their data, they are likely to return from the field with material whose demographic value is limited because the data are incomplete.

95: Claessen E-4 (no date) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9
(1770-1820)

A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA: SOME NEW VIEWS*

[Pre-1616)

Introduction.

In this paper we wish to supply a survey of the history of the Tonga Islands. We shall concentrate mainly on the period 1770-1820. Of the times previous to this period there is but little known, whereas the period after 1820 is described extensively in various writings (Farmer, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford). Therefore these parts of Tongan history will be dealt with very briefly. The time between the two dates mentioned above, however, is a confused period, in which a whole series of authorities were involved in a great number of political complications. To our mind the existing studies on this period contain various vague and contradictory notions. We believe that some of these are dealt with conclusively in this paper. 121 175

1. *The period previous to the coming of the Europeans (up to 1616).*

174 172 [173]

A great part of the history of the Tonga Islands is wrapped in mystery. Oral traditions, lists of names and a few monuments are the chief data one has to work on. For a few years now archaeologists have supplied us with a basis a little more reliable for this research into the past. Thus, according to Suggs (p. 87 ff.), we can take it that a short time before the beginning of our era these islands were inhabited. The same goes for the nearby Samoa Islands, and Suggs points out the fact that the development of these areas runs parallel to a great extent. We are to picture these earliest inhabitants as people living together in small groups, cultivating land in a simple way for horticultural purposes and using some earthenware (ib. p. 93). Not before the eleventh century, however, are there structures of some size to be found on Tongatapu. They consist chiefly of tombs. These have been explored and described extensively by Mc Kern. His opinion

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* The translation was made by Mr. F. L. van den Berg.

[p. 505]

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 35. NOTES on the GEOLOGY of the TONGA ISLANDS. By J. J. LISTER, Esq., M.A. (Read June 24, 1891.)

[Communicated by J. E. MARR, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Sec. G.S.]

[PLATE XXIII.]

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I. INTRODUCTION.

121 VERY little of a detailed character has, so far as I am aware, been published on the geology of the Tonga Islands.

Prof. Dana makes a brief mention of some of the islands in 'Coral and Coral Islands' *; and in the edition of 'Coral Reefs' published in 1874 Darwin gave a summary of what was known of the group †.

114 I spent several months in Tonga in 1889 and 1890, and had opportunities of visiting some of the islands in H.M.S. 'Egeria,' which was engaged, for part of the time, in making a survey. Such observations as I made on the geology of the group are embodied in the following notes.

126 I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Harker, M.A., F.G.S., who has 114 examined the volcanic rocks which I obtained ‡, and also to Dr. John Murray, who has looked over sections of the calcareous rocks of Eua.

II. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE GROUP.

131 The Tonga or Friendly Islands are situated in the Pacific Ocean between 18° and 22° 30′ lat. S., and on either side of the 175th degree long. W. Tongatabu lies a little over 1000 miles to the N.N.E. of Auckland in New Zealand. The large islands of Fiji are about 400 miles to the W.N.W., and those of Samoa about 300 miles to the N.N.E.

[103] The greater number of islands fall into three main groups. The northernmost is Vavau, which consists of one moderately large island (about 13 miles in its longest diameter), giving its name to

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* 2nd ed., pp. 288 & 289.

† P. 212 and elsewhere, 3rd ed. (1889).

[113] ‡ Mr. Harker has published notes on these specimens in the Geol. Mag. for June, 1891.

/7/

FOREWORD

114 101 This work is essentially the result of my research journey to the Tonga Islands. From October 1951 to June 1952 I stayed in this Archipelago and worked in five Tongan settlements: on the small islands of Nomuka, Lifuka and 'Uiha, on the larger Vava'u Island and in the "capital city" Nuku'alofa. In June/July 1952 I visited Samoa and Fiji for comparative study.

121 The concept of "culture" that underlies this work embraces everything that man brings forth in his struggle with his environment and his fellowmen, that is to say, economy, technology, as well as society and the"spiritual aspects" (namely, religion, art, knowledge).

[199] The change in this culture brought about by European influence is here referred to as "cultural change."

128 In the first part of the work, the Tongan cultural change in the various areas of native life is examined, the present condition being compared with the past (that is, at the time of beginning European influence).

In the second part, the general course of that cultural change is described and then compared with the cultural change among three other primitive communities, in order, thereafter, to attempt an interpretation of the causes of this development in Tongan culture.

The third, concluding part of the work contains a general consideration of cultural change among primitive peoples, brought about by European influences, and an account of the various methods used in examining it. ^

The, in part, quite detailed description of the present state of Tongan culture proposes to enable the reader to check specific conclusions, to make comprehension easier for the non-Oceanist, and, in addition, to give a general picture of a present-day Polynesian culture beyond the special problem of cultural change.

^ [This section, comprising pp. 332-351 of the foreign text, has not been translated for the OU9 Tonga file.--Analyst]

/158 cont./

000 *kape* (less often taro or yams). With these tools they usually work
241 standing. The former, apparently customary, squatting method of work
412
516 (418)

418. See, for example, J. Wilson, A *missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 245.

407 is used only by a few very old men. Plows as well as other agri-
177 cultural machines and tractors are used by Tongans under the guidance
242 of whites only on the state experimental farms on Tongatapu and on the
property of Crown Prince Tungi on this island.

121 The following survey may give an insight into present-day agri-
241 culture and show the changes that have taken place.

'*ufi* - Yams (*Dioscorea alata* L.)

244
262 Even in ancient Tonga yams were one of the most important food
178 plants (if not *the* most important crop). (419)

419. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...*loc. cit.* VI. pp. 163, 237, 283/284; W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative*...I. p. 89.

[563] White employees in the Tongan government have so far discovered 80
[137] varieties of yams in the Archipelago; more than 20 different names are familiar to the average Tongan. Yams are still the favorite tubers on all the islands, though their total cultivation has decreased in Tonga in comparison with the past (see above); in the Ha'apai group yams are today planted to a lesser extent, whereas their cultivation on the larger islands of the Archipelago (for example, Tongatapu) is still quite extensive and in some places probably corresponds to that of [illegible] past.

244 Planting time--with certain shifts as a result of the long north-
221 south extension of the Archipelago--extends from June to the first days
of August and from the third week of August up to October-November. As
244
242 a rule, a yam crop is planted only on land that has rested; suitable

T /290 cont./

177 culture, and /291/ it is at present not capable of continuing in this
178 way without the help of whites, nevertheless, alongside a recognition of the negative, the disintegration of the old, we should place the evaluation of the new that has been created. Since this has brought about no catastrophe for the native, but makes his existence altogether worthwhile, it probably fulfills the most important function of culture, namely, to provide for the human being a good existance in his world.

Final alignment with Western civilization does not seem very probably for present Tongan culture and is perhaps also not worth striving for, since the preservation of the ancient Tongan community life and the bases of their traditional means of subsistence can largely avert the dangers of commercialization and individualization, social disintegration and mental alienation, uprootedness and discontent. The future is completely open and lies not only in the hands of the British protectorate power, but in those of the Tongans themselves, and is moreover controlled by imponderables which are so often decisive in such developments. It is possible--and probably to be hoped for the Tongans' sake--that this native culture will in the future, as today, (and probably to a greater extent) happily satisfy Tongan nature and European circumstances. The pre-conditions are certainly there.

2. The Cultural Change in Tonga Compared with Change

A. In the Samoa Islands

T
● [121] It may help us to understand the causes of this change of Tongan culture if we compare it with a few other European-influenced native cultures.

S
177 Samoan culture offers the example of a similar culture under approximately similar influences, which was altered to a similar extent. It too is a simpler, more passive culture which came under the impact

F T 171 177 178

/313 cont./

A comparison of cultural change in Tonga with the change on the Fiji Islands thus shows a certain similarity of development despite the colonial history of this Archipelago and the great numerical as well as economic and political superiority of the foreigners.

C. In Buganda (Central Africa)

T 121 177

In an attempt to interpret the culture change described in Tonga, a comparison with the culture change resulting from European influences among a non-Oceanic primitive people may also prove useful.

G [113]

G 177 144

As an example I have chosen the Kingdom of Buganda (42) on the northwest shore of Lake Victoria, which is likewise a British protectorate. The Hamitic pastoral tribes coming from the north /314/ in the past also invaded this area inhabited by agricultural Bantu; but here, in contrast to conditions in other African kingdoms formed by Hamitic conquests, there was a widespread fusion of the two population elements in which the Hamitic /element/ was soon absorbed.

42. Based on L.P. Mair, An African people in the twentieth century. London 1934; H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Uganda 2nd ed. London 1949; H.B. Thomas, The story of Uganda. Oxford 1939; Margaret Trowell and K.P. Wachsmann, Tribal crafts of Uganda. London 1953; Colonial Office, Report of Uganda for the year 1952. London 1953. /all titles cited in English/

G 642 635 131 161 162

Buganda is today one of the four provinces of the Uganda Protectorate; the kingdom is approximately 64-times larger than the land area of the Tonga Archipelago, and in it live more than 800,000 Baganda, (43) as well as a smaller group of Indians and relatively few Europeans. (44)

43. According to the investigation of 1938: 836,091 (Report on Uganda for the year 1952. p. 16).

44. According to the count of 1931: 6587 Indians and 1200 Europeans (Thomas and Scott, Uganda p. 502).

G /322 cont./

T 177 them into their culture and finally /323/ regard them as natural possessions. But, like those Islanders, they too are steadfast and conservative in maintaining essential features of their old life style and at the same time they lack understanding of many "improvements" and novel ideas. (51)

51. See their adherence to their own means of subsistence, as well as their non-European attitude towards money.

G T 177 178 The culture change here too caused no collapse of the old way of life, and no obvious cultural decline (in the sense of a disintegration) is to be observed. Basic elements of the old culture have been preserved. G T [182] The natives seem physically and mentally unimpaired. Despite a certain dependence on whites, their old ability to master their environment seems to have been preserved. (52)

52. An independent further development of what was taken over is, however, not to be noted here either.

Though the cultural change does not seem complete by any means, there is a certain stabilization to be noted, and in the newly arisen culture the native element is decidely dominant. Among the reasons for this development one must mention first of all the characteristics of these human beings, the nature and strength of their old culture, the absence of direct forcible intervention by Europeans, as well as their relatively small number in Buganda which has remained a land of natives and has not become a settlement area of whites.

T 121 177 178

3. THE CAUSES UNDERLYING THE COURSE OF THE CULTURE CHANGE IN TONGA

After having discussed in detail the change in Tongan culture and drawn comparisons with the changes in other cultures, we may now, on the basis of this detailed material, present an interpretation of this development, that is to say, a survey of causes.

/323 cont./

121 177 If the mental and material culture of a people is already something tremendously complex as a result of the great variety of its forms and their ramifications and connections, the change of such a culture seems an even more complicated subject in view of the forces and factors which act on the diversity of this culture. For the sake of clarity and in order to avoid aimless rambling and confusion by attempting to do justice to everything, we shall here try merely to give a comprehensive, simplified and general consideration of the reasons for the course of the change in Tongan culture.

/324/ The first part of this essay, the investigation of the change in various individual areas of Tongan culture form the bases of the following conclusions:

177 A large part of the change occurred simply as a result of the pressure brought to bear on the Tongans and their culture by European influences.

[797] Thus, the activity of the missionaries affected especially the area of religion (and the once so universal belief in taboos) and, more or less contingent on this, the clothing and ornamentation of all the natives, their customs surrounding marriage and death, the previous scarcely circumscribed privileges of the nobility in relation to the commoners, furthermore political development, land distribution and jurisdiction, art and games and finally knowledge in general.

177 642 797 Included in the idea of "pressure brought to bear by European influences" is the effectiveness of the modern Tongan state (under the British Protectorate) founded a century ago under the influences of the Wesleyans, /a state/ whose laws and institutions are responsible, for example, for the change in health care and education and whose registrations of birth, marriage and death give these events a European tinge, just as the missionaries before that provided them with Christian attributes.

/330 cont./

177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

177 121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically; for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

177 178 181 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

177 178 (113) The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

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61. R. Linton, *Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes* /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

ABSTRACT

POPULATION, AGRICULTURE AND URBANIZATION IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

By

William Fenton Clark

161 Prior to this investigation it was believed that alterations
178 in the population profile and agricultural economy of Tonga have
resulted in a growing social, economic and nutritional instability
throughout the Kingdom. Natural population increase and internal
migration have contributed to the urbanization of approximately
fifty percent of the nation's total population. Increases in population
are also noted to be accompanied by subsequent increases in
pressure upon available agricultural acreage, resulting in a growing
number of a landless agrarian populace. In addition, increases in
the cash income of those Tongan farmers who enjoy secure land tenure
have been accompanied by increases in migration to urban areas and
121 absentee landholding. It was hypothesized that these demographic
178 and economic shifts result in a continuation of rapid urbanization
and a subsequent growing malnutrition among the urban population.
In addition, it was proposed that the increase of cash cropping
replacing traditional subsistence agriculture has resulted in a
reduction of domestic foodstuff production in ratio to total population
requirements and a subsequent dependency upon imported

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William Fenton Clark

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foodstuffs. Demographically, continued urbanization was perceived to be strongly correlated with undernourishment and malnutrition.

Field investigations supported the above contentions.

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Increases in the absolute total of agricultural production have been nullified by population growth. In addition, growing landlessness (due to population growth and the mismanagement of the national land system), absentee landholding and the status ascribed to food imports have hastened a reduction in domestic food production.

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Examination of preschool children conclusively showed that alterations in dietary quality correlated with urbanization have resulted in retarded physical development. Continued alterations in the demographic and economic structure of Tonga are perceived to be a critical factor in all future private and governmental planning.

[p i-B]

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

000 For centuries, mankind has been aware of the consequences of population expanding in numbers more rapidly than agricultural production. Ancient history records the efforts of governments in storing foodstuffs during periods of plenty, in preparation for periods when agriculture could not support the populace (Genesis 41:25-36). In the past, a natural catastrophe was often the cause for food shortage. However, in the current century, in addition to flood, drought and disease, mankind must contend with the consequences of his own multiplicative nature influencing the production and availability of food. As the 1970s progress, one is struck with the realization that there are developing all the conditions necessary for a global food shortage and regional famine. In this decade, nations, including India and Brazil, have been the scene of riots by those demanding food necessary for survival. These demandings may, in fact, be only the prelude of a time when traditional agriculture will have exhausted its potential and securing food for survival will be foremost in the activities of man.

121 A full accounting of the causes and consequences of the world's population-agricultural production imbalance on a global scale would be an enormous undertaking. However, a microcosm of

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121 these conditions may be found in many parts of the world such as the islands which dot the oceans. One such microcosmic situation may be observed in the Kingdom of Tonga, which is located as an island chain in the Southwest Pacific Ocean. (Note general mapping of
161 Tonga, Figure 4, Appendix A.)[A] Population growth and diminishing
178 agricultural food production, per capita, as a ratio to total popu-
171 lation, are as serious a threat to national stability in Tonga, as
433 in the more publicized nations of the world. (The reader, if not
000 familiar with the more basic geographic considerations regarding Tonga, may, at this point, wish to review Appendix A.)[B]

161 Even though these conditions exist in Tonga, as well as in
178 other populated island groups, it must be understood that while many
171 of the Pacific islands are now facing a land-population growth cri-
174 sis, only recently have these conditions arisen. Anthropological data indicate that historically the Pacific Basin is a region of relatively recent human settlement (Harris 1966, p. 13). In the case of Polynesia, Tonga, Samoa and the Society Islands formed the core from which the population of other island groups originated (Emory 1974, pp. 732-745). The Tongas were settled probably no
174 earlier than 1100 B.C. The significance of this situation is that
167 when religious quarrels, conditions of war, or overpopulation arose, groups of island people migrated to other islands in, seemingly, an
161 ocean of innumerable islands (Harris 1966, p. 14). However, in the
167 twentieth century, uninhabited island groups are no longer to be found and since 1945, overpopulation has become a growing force,

A[See Category 102, pp. 160-164--Analyst.]
B[See various 13 Categories, pp. 157-170--Analyst.]

161 with little probability of relief. Such is the case in Tonga at
167 the present.

161 With a population exceeding 95,000 scattered over 288 square
miles, Tonga contains areas of rural population density in excess
171 of 600 per square mile. Coupled with a resource base inadequate
433 for significant industrial development, and an economy which is at
present entirely dependent upon agriculture, Tonga often resembles
171 many nations of the "underdeveloped world." However, because of a
growing relationship with the British Commonwealth, a Western form
of government, and a 95 percent literate population, Tonga
resembles many nations of the "developed world." Characteristics of
both "worlds" are found scattered over the 150 islands that comprise
●121 the nation. Therefore, here is a laboratory situation in which to
study the critical issue of population growth and urbanization
versus food production.

161 The Tongan population-agricultural imbalance may be reduced
to a simple statement of conditions. Tongan population growth has
171 in recent years stood at over 3.5 percent per year and is today
[161] among the highest of the Pacific islands. (Other island groups of
the region having had high growth rates include Fiji with 3.5 percent,
161 Samoa with 3.8 percent, and Tahiti with 3.6 percent.) Conditions
in Tonga, as evidenced by the present population growth
rate, indicate that the present population of 95,000 will more than
double by 1990. News items from Tonga predict that this number will
overwhelm the food production capacity of the land ("There's Not
171 Enough Land . . .," 1967, p. 37). Such conditions are not yet so

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369 if imported foods are available and cash is on hand with which to
241 purchase them (Horine 1967, pp. 43-46). In addition, as the pos-
439 sibilities of cash employment in urban areas increases, the popula-
[262] tion is less inclined to work their traditional urban gardens.
Rather, they prefer to raise their visible socioeconomic status
through the use of imports. This subsequently reduces further the
amount of foodstuffs produced in the nation.

241 In rural areas of Tonga, major portions of the remaining
178 agricultural sector are changing to a cash orientation. The govern-
241 ment requires a substantial portion of a farm holding to produce
439 export products (or at least be planted in such), principally coco-
245 nuts or bananas. However, many farm plots are totally devoted to
the production of crops for export (Kennedy 1961, p. 61). Major
cash crops include copra and sweet banana, which together account
241 for 80 percent of Tonga's exports. As is the case in urban areas,
178 as the cash income of farmers increases, the incentive for producing
agricultural food staples decreases. This situation will probably
continue as long as market prices for Tongan exports remain high and
the status associated with material products, including imported
foodstuffs, exists.

121 Therefore, one may hypothesize that as Tonga's population continues to increase, urbanization will increase, agricultural production of foodstuffs per person will decrease, the dependency being placed upon food imports will continue to grow, and the nutritional status of particularly urban populations will probably decline.

114 growth and movement, food production and the rise of tertiary industries.

Research Methods

121 Based upon the hypothesis of this study, three major divisions of research were discerned. First, the degree of population increase and the growth of urbanization was measured. This involved analysis of Tongan population data from the last thirty years (post-World War II).

Second, the changes in the agricultural profile of the nation were investigated. This involved a brief sequence occupancy survey in which the historical expansion of population onto agricultural land and the development of the traditional Tongan farm system ('api) was traced. In addition, a determination of the growth of cash cropping and the changing agricultural profile of rural Tonga was necessary. From these data, a pattern of population pressure upon agricultural resources was developed. Furthermore, any change in the purchasing power of rural Tongans was noted. This change proved to be (1) a decline in the support capacity of the land because of increasing population, resulting in land abandonment and poverty migration to the urban area, or (2) an increase in purchasing power and subsequent moves to the more attractive urban environment.

125 [121] Third, once the pattern of urbanization was established, it was necessary to examine the food intake and basic nutritional status of the urban population, especially children. Two methods developed included a survey of available foods within the urban area,

125 and a calculation of their basic nutritional content. (While protein was of prime importance, the effect of other macro nutrients, fat, and carbohydrates were also considered as were dietary minerals including zinc, iron and copper.) A second method involved a brief physical examination of a sample of Tongan children. This included such observations as teeth (caries), hair, general body tone and structure, plus a tricep skinfold measurement taken in conjunction with upper arm circumference.

121 With regard to population increases, a mathematical compari-
128 son of migration from Tonga, to immigration into the nation, provided
[127] an accurate estimate of population totals. Combining this estimate
with data concerning growth in urban population and rural density, collected from census material, resulted in an indication of the distribution of population growth and migration potential.

121 Using agricultural data gathered from census materials and
127 ministerial reports, a brief historical outline (i.e., post-World
121 War II) of land usage patterns was developed. (The postwar period
evidenced the most rapid population growth.) This indicated developmental trends in specific aspects of agriculture, such as cash cropping, the spread of plant diseases, etc., which altered agricultural patterns. Trends in land utilization and land abandonment were established, such as tenancy, absentee landholding, etc.

121 Assessing the nutritional status of urban population and
125 geographically comparing these findings with rural inhabitants
became a major undertaking in itself. However, because alteration in nutritional status was to be related to urbanization only in

121 cause and effect, extensive scientific investigation, such as blood
125 assay of amino acids, was not necessary.

125 There are three reasonable approaches which can be followed in collecting data for this comparison. First, food consumption surveys, using selected families, were employed. In this approach a record of food and approximate amounts used was made. This technique also supplied data pertaining to food availability, by type, for both rural and urban areas. The disadvantages of using household food consumption surveys were (1) the survey would have been necessarily limited due to the time involved, and (2) the difficulty an outsider encounters communicating in a traditional society concerning a personal topic. Secondly, the determination of nutritional status employed anthropometric measuring of subjects (head, upper arm, chest circumference plotted against established standards by age). Third, a clinical analysis utilizing hair root diameters as a precise measurement of nutritional status was undertaken. (Studies have shown strong correlation between hair root examination and serum amino acids and anthropometric measurements [Bradfield, 1972 and 1971; Nommacher 1972].) It was felt that this technique, when used in conjunction with the above anthropometric measures, would provide an almost foolproof comparison of rural and urban children with respect to nutritional status and physical growth and development.

In data collecting, every effort was made to avoid environmental, physical, or nutritional influences which would have resulted in skewed or distorted conclusions. All children of the

125 survey sample were examined within a 4-week period. Standards for physical measurements and hair sampling were observed in that each child was measured on the same anatomical site and hair samples were taken from the same scalp location[1] (note procedures in Appendix C). A Efforts were also made to insure the sample was a cross-section of Tongan population which involved no particular religious or economic group in excess.[2] Therefore, it was fully recognized from the onset of this research that in surveys of an entire population, as well as specific groups within the population, one should make every possible effort to gain results which are representative and unbiased. The sampling took into account specific cultural and occupational characteristics of the area and the population.

After the individual sample subject was selected, every effort was made to gain complete information for that subject. Of the total sample, a research sampling of 265 Tongan preschoolers were selected from rural and urban areas throughout Tonga. In the selection of each subject, care was taken that only one per family was included in the sample. Upon initial inspection, if the child was

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121 262 [1] The possibility of such dietary variations as mineral consumption between rural and urban children was recognized as a factor which could result in differences in the growth profile between the two groups. Research pertaining to such cause and effect was not undertaken within the scope of the present endeavor. However, one possibility for future research is seen in the role of zinc in relation to the large consumption of wheat bread in urban areas.

795 184 145 [2] The most obvious case was that of Mormon (Latter Day Saints) families. Without exception, children in these households appeared better cared for in terms of physical development and general conditioning. This distinction was noted early in the sampling process and was compensated for.

A[See Category 125, p. 183-188—Analyst.]

423 The same reasoning applies to historically prevalent variations in
[121] size of holdings.[1] Though an exposé of these issues is not the
intent of this research, they are, nonetheless, considerations with
[128] regard to population and land distribution. The following para-
graphs describe the land tenure system in practice, in contrast to
that outlined by Tongan law and theory.

423 Within the Tongan tenure system, there are two principal
565 types of land holdings--the estates of the royalty and nobility,
and the land allotments of the average citizens. The 1927 Land Act
[643] listed three types of estates: those belonging to the King, those belonging to the royal family, and the hereditary estates of the Tongan nobility. At present, 35 nobles retain control, beneath the Crown, of 31.1 percent of the total land area (see Table 10). About 60 percent of the Tongan population resides upon hereditary estates. A few of the nobility retain possession of two estates or one estate and other small holdings. In addition, some holdings may be on more than one island, or fragmented on a single island. These features complicate the assessment of these holdings, in terms of land area involved, usage, and amount of leasing. Discussions with employees of the Tongan Ministry of Lands revealed that although the Land Act of 1927 requires the registration of estates and their boundaries, approximately one-half of the existing estates have not been listed.

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[1] The 'api tukuhau, or rural allotment, is most frequently 8.25 acres in size. However, sizes do vary considerably owing to a variety of circumstances, which need not be discussed, with regard to the tenure system. The average rural allotment ascertained through interviews amounted to 9.63 acres, with extremes of two acres and 48 acres being encountered.

423 expressed by landowners, as well. However, only 0.3 percent of the
829 sample expressed the opinion that the tenure system should be
reorganized. Though this appears to be contradictory, most informants, when pressed on the issue, implied that the land tenure system
was based on tradition, and would not change.

511 Considering these features of the system, the following conclusions may be formulated. Although landlessness exists on a large
scale throughout Tonga, few landless households suffer critical hardships resulting from land shortage. Most landless individuals
consider their income sufficient for household needs. An occasional
landless family enjoying remittances from abroad or who derive
income from fishing or labor may even achieve an income level above
that of the average allotment holder.

● 121 Land tenure must also be considered in terms of its role in
the nation's agricultural economy. Although an in-depth analysis of
Tongan agriculture is contained within the following chapter, its
relation to land tenure can be considered within the framework of the
[457] present section. The major issue which arises is that concerning
the basis for the development of cash cropping, which is vital to
Tonga's balance of payments.

241 Cash cropping has been largely confined to the production of
245 bananas and cocnut products. This does not mean that other cash crops
245 are being rejected, owning to land tenure. At the present, several
attempts are being made to develop the cultivation of vanilla and
[439] citrus as cash crops. Nonetheless; the great majority of export

CHAPTER VI

AGRICULTURE TO URBANIZATION

369 Urbanization and its effects are issues confronting all
171 the governments in the Pacific islands. Of the principal Polynesian
cities, only Pago-Pago in Eastern Samoa evidenced a decrease in
urban population between the mid-1960s to 1975, a result of migrations
to Honolulu and San Francisco. The remaining cities of the
region are coping with the increasing numbers of individuals
121 migrating from villages and rural areas. Thus, urbanization, as
defined by the South Pacific Commission and applied to Tonga (see
pages 21-22) must be examined in relation to those factors motivating
population movement from rural to urban centers. A
fallacious assumption examines urban growth as a product of the
city when, in fact, "it must be viewed as stemming from forces
369 working on the whole of society" (Harr'e 1973, p. 11). Urbanization
in Tonga results from both urban and agricultural societal
forces. Although three urban centers in Tonga are recognized,
Nuku'alofa exemplifies the process of urbanization in Tonga and
will be used as a model in the following discussion.

369 The steady and accelerating growth of Nuku'alofa, particularly
162 notable in the past 40 years, has been generally an uninterrupted
161 process. In 1937, the capital contained 4,000 inhabitants.

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

● 121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more
369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences
369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre-
596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the
593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never
[594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in
[591] instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban
[166] family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

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CHAPTER VII

NUTRITIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGE

369 Investigations in Tonga, presented in the previous chapters, indicated that agriculture, land and population are major contributors to the urbanization process. There remains to be discussed the fundamental subsistence of those residing within the urban environment. Public health, housing, water supply, waste disposal and disease vectors are only a few of the problems encountered in
121 massive urbanization. However, of particular interest to this
146 research are those factors altering the nutritional patterns of the urbanite. Specifically, the degree of nutritional gradient between rural and urban populations is perceived to be important and an issue largely neglected in considerations of Pacific island urbanization.

146 At present, the Tonga Islands are relatively devoid of recorded malnutrition, when compared to selected nations of Africa,
178 Asia and South America. However, a pattern of development in
146 Nuku'alofa, similar to the urban centers of other regions, is becoming more apparent. The continued urbanization of Tonga's population, approaching 50 percent of the nation's total, frequently is accomplished at considerable cost to family health and welfare.

146 The traditional food patterns of the Tongan are nutri-
262 tionally balanced. Fruits and root vegetables provide sources of

Malnutrition was
146 further reported to be the fifth leading cause of death among young
165 in-patients at Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu in 1971 (Jansen 1973,
p. 3).

146 It is probable that borderline malnutrition, or at least
undernourishment, has existed in the South Pacific to some degree
[161] since the influenza epidemic of 1918. Rapid population growth has
been prevalent and unabated since that time. The situation in such
369 urban environments as Nuku'alofa is becoming serious with regard to
511 nutrition and general well-being. The high cost of living and
146 underemployment, aggravated by the overflow of unskilled or semi-skilled laborers, has resulted in a subsequent increase in the
number of malnourished children. Foods such as yam, fresh fish and
fruits which traditionally were eaten by all Tongans are now, for
many families in Nuku'alofa, a luxury beyond their economic means.
369 Money secured through cash cropping, relatives or overseas remit-
511 tances often is insufficient to support a large urban family and
146 migrating relatives. Jansen (1973) concluded that under prevailing
conditions,

> two points must be kept in mind: a. in spite of socio-economic progress, technology, better education, etc., many children in the Pacific Islands actually die because they lack proper food; b. the survivors may be permanently stunted in physical, and possibly mental, development (Jansen 1973, p. 43).

121 In the present investigation, the incidence of protein mal-
125 nutrition or undernourishment was of prime interest. Throughout the
sample survey, children of preschool age groupings (here defined as
2 years 0 months to 5 years 0 months) were examined. Data presented

125 in previous chapters indicated the economic and environmental factors conducive to the development of nutritional disorders. Preschool children were chosen as subjects, in that they are the most dependent on household food supplies. The selection of the sample was conducted randomly, within such cross sections of Tongan society as religion, economic and social standing. Collected data from 265 preschool children (114 female and 151 male) was then examined in light of possible rural/urban variations in nutritional well-being. For a more complete description of data collection procedures, see Appendices B and C.^A^

● 121 The prevalence of protein malnutrition represents a serious risk in Tonga, for several reasons. A correlation between urbanization and the incidence of protein malnutrition, as well as additional nutritional factors, adds a new dimension to any consideration of the urban process in Tonga or the South Pacific in general. With regard to the individual, lesser degrees of protein malnutrition may cause retarded physical growth (most obvious in height and weight). In addition, a malnourished individual suffers more from a variety of common infectious diseases than does a well nourished person.

262 [121] In any consideration of food production, distribution, consumption and value patterns, a variety of cultural factors must be recognized. In Tonga, several such factors have a profound influence upon the quantity and quality of food consumed by the preschool child. Aside from purely economic factors, which frequently dictate quantity and quality of food consumed, the family size and age spacing are also important. Cultural patterns, which determine the

^A^ [See Category 125, p. 174-188—Analyst.]

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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Summary

121 The objectives of this research were threefold:

1. To assess alterations in the population profile of Tonga (i.e., natural increase, internal migration and urbanization).
2. To determine the influence of population growth, land tenure and the development of cash cropping upon the agricultural economy of Tonga.
3. To determine the degree to which urbanization has altered the nutrition status of the Tongan people.

Prior to fulfilling the above objectives, it was hypothesized that:

1. Increases in population are accompanied by subsequent increases in (a) pressure upon agricultural lands, (b) population migration, and (c) urbanization.
2. Increases in cash income among agricultural producers are accompanied by subsequent increases in migration to urban areas, and decreases in agricultural production of food crops in ratio to total national population.
3. Increases in urbanization are accompanied by subsequent increases in reliance upon imported foodstuffs, and decreases in domestic food production and nutritional status.

Data acquired during field investigations supported the above hypotheses. A condition of increasing urbanization in Tonga was found to be the result of (1) natural population growth within

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369 urban areas, (2) displaced individuals migrating due to increased
161 population pressure on agricultural land, and (3) migration of
166 those rural individuals with sufficient income from cash cropping
178 enterprises. (The above is summarized within Figure 2).

178 Despite increases in the absolute quantity of domestic food
121 production, research results indicated that population growth more
241 than nullifies these gains. This situation is aggravated by the
withdrawal of acreage from domestic food production resultant from
(1) expanded cash cropping, and (2) increasing absentee landholding.
[439] The ensuing gap between population and domestic food needs
requires that Tonga import large quantities of foodstuffs (Table 20).A

121 Further investigation revealed that the consequences of
178 urbanization in Tonga are (1) decreased domestic food production
146 per capita, and (2) retarded physical development of preschool
369 children most likely due to inadequate dietary quality, as shown
121 in Table 21, and Table 28 (p.188).B However, in order to strengthen
the reliability of the preceding hypotheses, it is recommended that
they be tested in relation to alternative societies.

Implications

241 The Tongan social structure and systems of land tenure and agriculture, in combination with expanding urbanization, require that Tongan governmental officials realize the vital role of agriculture in the Tongan economy. To date, the Kingdom lacks any other alternative resources. Thus, care must be taken to stabilize and revitalize agriculture and domestic food production.

A[See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]
B[See Category 146, p. 136 and 188--Analyst.]

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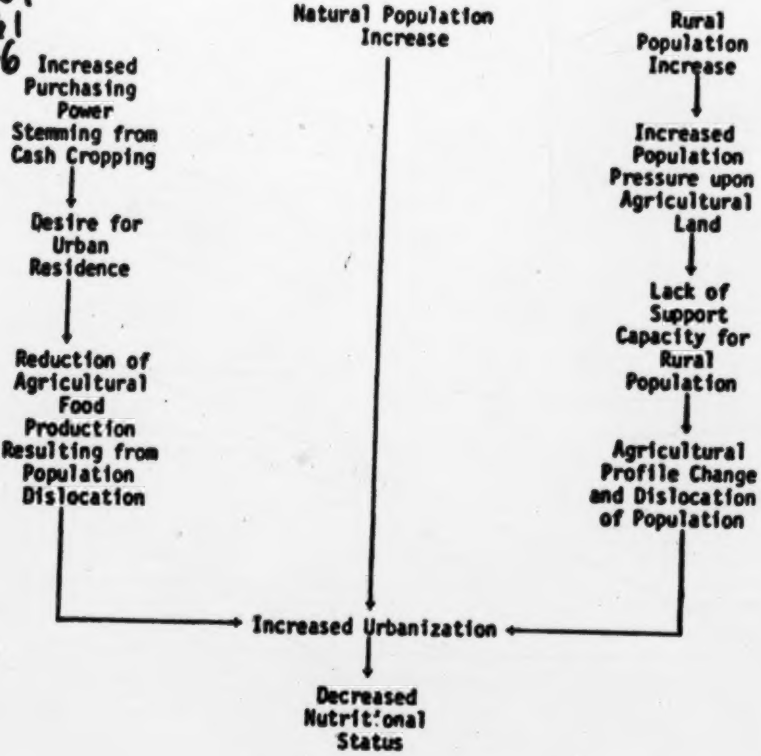
Natural Population Increase
Rural Population Increase
Increased Purchasing Power Stemming from Cash Cropping
Increased Population Pressure upon Agricultural Land
Desire for Urban Residence
Lack of Support Capacity for Rural Population
Reduction of Agricultural Food Production Resulting from Population Dislocation
Agricultural Profile Change and Dislocation of Population
Increased Urbanization
Decreased Nutritional Status

Figure 2.--Urbanization: Kingdom of Tonga

own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his 643
duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best [439]
sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable [157]
coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we
were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at
the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally 276
followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of [643]
dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent,
nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking [178]
whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged [177]
by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still
secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young [797]
woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around,
inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same
time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction 501
of these better than any description. They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere 643
with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, requesting 648
that he might with his people be received as subjects of the British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cultivate 000
friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as
are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may
be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the
islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line 121
between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt 122
as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing 114
directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander,
as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua 131
Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the 133

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU9 Tonga OU9

String Figures From Fiji and Western Polynesia

By JAMES HORNELL

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND PURPOSE

101 The string figures described in this paper were collected in 1925
122 during an expedition to central and western Polynesia and to Fiji, carried out under the auspices and with the financial assistance of the Percy Sladen
122 Trust, whose generosity has made possible many extensive researches. To the Trustees and to the friends whose counsel and assistance in preparing for the expedition were of inestimable value, I tender grateful thanks. My obligations to Dr. A. C. Haddon and to Professor C. G. Seligman in particular are specially heavy. Neither must I omit to express my indebtedness to Ratu Pope e Seniloli, grandson of King Thakombau of Fiji, the present Vunivalu and Chieftain of Mbau; also to the Reverend John Hevea of Tongatabu; without their assistance my collection of Fijian and Tongan string figures would have been greatly reduced in number and in value.

101 The island groups visited included the Marquesas, the Society Islands,
121 Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. Other lines of inquiry monopolized attention
126 during the time spent in the Marquesas and Society islands, but a few important figures were picked up in Tahiti. Another consideration against
121 devoting time to this subject in the Marquesas and Society islands was
126 the knowledge that Willowdean C. Handy had already made a collection
114 of these games during a long stay in this locality and would shortly publish them (10).[1] I now regret this calculated neglect, for I find that one only of the 5 figures I obtained in Tahiti is represented in Handy's collection of 25 from the Society Islands, and even in this, the method of working is so different as to entitle it to be considered a distinct game. This demonstrates alike the wonderful wealth of these Oceanic islands in this form of human ingenuity and the practical difficulty of any one individual being able to make a complete collection of the games now or recently known to the people of any particular island group.

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography on page 88.

[p. 3]

104: Hornell E,N-5 (1925) 1927 OU) Tonga OU9

S24 It is also noteworthy that the *imbi* is the most widely spread of any
171 string game, either single or serial, in Oceania. In Samoa and in the
Gilbert, Tokelau, and Ellice islands, where it has not been recorded, I feel
sure that it will eventually be found.

The relationships of the Tongan figures are wholly Polynesian if Fiji be excluded. Only one form is common to Tonga and the New Caledonia area, whereas 2 of the total 10 are found in New Zealand and 3 in the Society and Marquesas islands. Of these 3, one appears also in Samoa and in the Ellice and Tokelau islands.

The Samoan figures are not sufficiently numerous to permit useful or valid conclusions to be drawn, except that 2 of them betoken close relationship with the islands to the westward.

121 As pointed out by Handy (10a) a study of string figures has thrown a strong light on the relationships of primitive peoples, but much more information from many island groups is necessary before the full value of the geographical study of string games can be utilized adequately in the solution of the ethnological problems of Melanesia and Polynesia. The present collection has perhaps its chief value in breaking new ground in certain island groups. What has been done in Samoa and in Tonga is not a tithe of what may be accomplished there if an investigator with tact and a knowledge of the language devotes adequate time to the study. Fiji is
so prolific a field that I am satisfied that numerous games remain un-
[S24] recorded. Immediate attention to this subject is, however, necessary, for
[178] the people are rapidly forgetting the games and in a few years many will
[S33] have become irretrievably lost. I would direct special attention to the
[171] collection of the chants associated with many of the games. Wherever pos-
[126] sible these have been recorded in this collection.

TERMINOLOGY

128 In the description of the movements required to evolve the various figures, I have adopted the technical terms devised by Rivers and Haddon (15), and used also by Handy (10), who describes the terminology in the following convenient form:

> The back of the hand and fingers is referred to as the dorsal side; the palm, as the palmar side; so that a string or a loop is said to lie on the dorsal or the palmar side of the hand or a finger, is picked up on the dorsal or the palmar side of a digit. The little finger side of the hand is called the ulnar side; the thumb side, the radial side; so that strings are said to be ulnar or radial according as they lie on the side of a finger towards the little finger or towards the thumb. Similarly, the direction of the rotation of a hand or a finger is designated as in the ulnar or in the radial direction, according as it describes an arc or a circle starting towards the little finger side of the hand or towards the thumb side.

105: Vaea & Straatmans G,I-3 (no date) 1954
OU9 Tonga OU9

PRELIMINARY REPORT* ON A FISHERIES SURVEY IN TONGA

By

HON. VAEA, Inspector of Agriculture

and

W. STRAATMANS, Head of Department of Agriculture.

INTRODUCTION.

WE are indebted to Mr. M. Muller, retired Acting Agricultural Officer. Apart from the information laid down in this report, which was mainly collected by interrogation of fishermen, he contributed much of his own knowledge about local fisheries. 115 [124]

More could have been added to complete the record if, besides interrogation, we have investigated fishing methods in the field and if we had inspected fishing gears on the spot. This, however, would have delayed the issue of this first compilation which we prefer to circulate as a preliminary report. There are several reasons why this was considered preferable, i.e.:— 121

- (a) To make the first information available to fisheries experts and to fisheries experiment stations abroad;
- (b) To receive advice as to what suggestions can be obtained to improve on the methods of Tongan fisheries and fish processing;
- (c) To enable more local fisheries experts—not yet contacted—to add to this record all what is still worth mentioning.

CONTENTS.

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1. COMMUNITY FISHING.
   (a) Pola; (b) Faka'uvea; (c) Uloa; (d) Tolo; (e) Tuotua; (f) Ta 'atu.
2. TRAP FISHING.
   (a) Moka; (b) Fish Fence.

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* The substance of this paper was presented as a lecture by the author to the Palmerston North Polynesian Discussion Group.

and the end of February. *'Ava* in Ano is likewise protected 225
in May, June and July.

The use of fences for the purpose of catching fish or 226
turtles is licensed. [225]

12.—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

A brief description has been given of the methods of 121
indigenous fisheries in Tonga. It will be clear that some of
the fishing methods as described are not strictly confined to 226
Tonga. For instance, octopus fishing with a sort of mouse- 171
shape "bait" is practised largely throughout the Pacific
area. Other methods of community fishing or net fishing are
also in use in other areas although sometimes with some
alterations and under different names.

From the descriptions given, it becomes apparent that 000
Tonga is badly in need of:—

1. Improvement of existing fishing methods.
2. Introduction of new methods of fisheries.
3. Improvement of fish processing like salting, drying, etc.
4. Fisheries propaganda and import of diversified fishing tackle.
5. Fish marketing.

The realisation of this programme should eventually lead to improvement of the protein diet of the indigenous population.

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